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AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

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HONORARY PRESIDENTS: *The Very Rev. Principal John Baillie, Sir Maurice Bowra, The Rev. T. Corbishley, S.J., Mr. James Crawford, The Right Hon. Isaac Foot, Mr. Tshekedi Khama, Professor Arthur Lewis, The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, The Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster, Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson.*
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CENTRAL AFRICA

The Federation

Future Status¹

MR. A. LENNOX-BOYD, the Colonial Secretary, speaking in Northern Rhodesia, endorsed Sir Roy Welensky's statement that "Ours is a Federal constitution and it will remain Federal". Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that it must be the aim of all to ensure that the Government of the Federation and of the constituent territories "shall for all time be in the hands of civilized and responsible people, whatever their race, whose homes are here".

Addressing the African Provincial Council for the Western Province of Northern Rhodesia, he said: "We believe federation means strength—and strength for the African. All over the world we have seen examples of smaller countries being overwhelmed while larger territories or groups of territories have held together. In all these cases you find where you have federation that fruit takes some time to grow. It is the difficulties which loom largest at first. In many parts for which the Government have had responsibility we have had it happening like that." He had not helped to create the Federation in the selfish interests of his own race, but in a genuine desire to help all races, and not least the Africans. "We made certain solemn promises to Africans at that time, and by those promises we stand."

Mr. P. Sokota, M.L.C., in reply said that the Provincial Council again registered whole-hearted opposition to the inclusion of Northern Rhodesia in the Federation. He listed four disadvantages: (1) the European settlers were using the Federation to embarrass the British Government in their Colonial policy; (2) race relations had worsened; (3) African fears that the European population would seek more power at the expense of the African were being justified; and (4) unskilled European immigrant labour was being encouraged to fill posts which could well be filled by Africans." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 10, 1957.)

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in an address to Salisbury Rotary Club said that "Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom must say, as Mr. Lennox-Boyd has said, that Federation is here to stay and they must say it again and again. As we stand at present, we can never build up a common loyalty to the Federal State in the minds of our African population; and no matter how liberal our approach may be to the many problems which face us, the Africans in the two northern states will look upon the United Kingdom Government as a sort of opposition to the Federal Government and not as a partner. . . ."

¹DIGEST IV, 2 and 3.

Among the European population there was a growing realization that steps had to be taken to secure the British way of life. Under the constitution of the Federal Government there was virtually no control over African affairs, and in no way could the Federal Government directly influence African thought. African affairs were wholly territorial. At the same time, whatever was done in the economic field, over which the Federal Government did have some control, to further the interests of the African and to stimulate his advancement seemed to go unacknowledged not only by African political leaders but also, tragically enough, by Great Britain.

"Let me make this clear, that African leaders have never attempted to support the partnership, not because they cannot envisage its success but solely because they realize that, if carried through logically, it stands in the way of their aspirations towards African domination. The British Government would therefore do well to realize not only the significance of the African's denial of partnership but also the significance of his disregard of the Governments of the northern territories. This can only mean that, when he has achieved what he wants—which is no more and no less than full African self-government—he will in turn reject the British Government's authority. That, then, will be another part of Africa lost to progress." (*The Times*, January 4, 1957.)

Under the headline "Still to be Won", *The Times* (December 31, 1956) said that many questions, old and new, remained unanswered. The aspiration for "improved status" prompted by (1) the imminent granting of independence to Ghana and (2) the publication of the Labour Party's pamphlet on *The Plural Society* was reasonable. But its satisfaction would give such a blow to African confidence that it would jeopardize the granting of full dominion status at a later date.

A second problem concerned relationships between the Federal Government and its component parts. In Northern Rhodesia there are obvious, and understandable, jealousies, chiefly economic. As one African put it: "Northern Rhodesia is the milchcow of the Federation." The revenues of the Copperbelt are the mainstay of the Federation's economy. The existence of this highly organized technical industry in the midst of an exceptionally backward African society causes constant unrest.

But Northern Rhodesia had at least the consolation, until federation, of knowing that the benefits were enjoyed by Northern Rhodesia. Now, it is felt, they go in part to shore up Southern Rhodesia's secondary industry or subsidize poverty-stricken Nyasaland. The complaint has substance.

Nyasaland has its own troubles. Unlike the other two territories, it is an almost exclusively African State, and any attempt to change its African nature would be wholly artificial. Ever since federation, its sense of purpose has been blunted by uncertainty as to its future. The emergence of purely African States in the north and west has fostered the hope among African leaders that they may ultimately

disengage from a multi-racial federation. Those who are responsible for its material improvement continue to see no hope for Nyasaland outside association with the two Rhodesias. The non-African population recognizes the essentially African nature of the country but is concerned to safeguard its own rights and survival. Some more precise definition of how an African State can continue within the Federation is overdue.

The abiding and as yet unresolved problem for the whole Federation remains the winning of African support, particularly in the two northern territories. In the north the African leaders remain largely unreconciled and, even in the bush, where there is not indifference, there is a certain negative suspicion. The two most effective ways of combating this will be through the introduction of a generous franchise law and through the more intensive development of federal services.

The Daily Telegraph (December 31, 1956) said that problems in the Federation resemble much more closely the straight black-and-white conflict which prevails in South Africa. This may be due to the fact that there are many Afrikaners in Rhodesia, indoctrinated with the principles of the Strijdom Government. From the practical, apart from the moral, point of view, these principles will not help the Federation.

Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Federal Member of Law and Education, said that the Federation could gain independent status tomorrow if she agreed to a manhood suffrage for members of all races, but that basis was unacceptable. The northern territories must advance quickly to a Prime Minister and Cabinet basis and the franchise for both these territories and for the Federation must be settled if there were to be political security. The attitude of unctuous rectitude on the part of the United Kingdom must also cease. The sharing of the country and its benefits, not necessarily in equal divisions, was something basically sound, fair, and reasonable. He added: "If we go forward on this basis I have no fears that the Federation will go from strength to strength and that no one in the United Kingdom or elsewhere will be able to resist our progress to full nationhood." (*The Times*, December 3, 1956.)

The Central African Post (November 28, 1956) reported the possibility of an all-out Dominion status campaign by Sir Roy Welensky during the next twelve months. Sir Roy is faced with the problem of getting some form of self-government for the Federation before the next British general election. If he fails in this the chances of the country becoming a self-governing Dominion in the foreseeable future is negligible.

Sir Roy is also anxious to get Dominion status from a party political point of view. If the Federal Party manages to achieve this object while it is the governing body, it will regain much of its popularity and remove the main planks from the opposition parties' platforms.

There is little doubt that the Federation will be facing the most critical period of its existence during the next year. It is anticipated that both international and domestic problems will have an adverse effect on the economy of the country. On the international side is the rising tide of criticisms, unfounded as it may be, on the action of the Northern and Southern Rhodesian Governments in their declaration of national emergencies. On the home front, qualms are being felt as to the repercussions which may follow the changing of Prime Ministers at a critical stage of the Federation's development.

The Nyasaland Times (November 27, 1956) welcomed Mr. Lennox-Boyd's visit. Despite official assurances by the British Government that Nyasaland will not be "contracted out" of the Federation there still remains unease. Mr. Lennox-Boyd should certainly consider re-

peating his categorical statement, made in the House of Commons, that Nyasaland will remain part of the Federation. It posed the question of the future constitutional status of Nyasaland itself. At what stage, if any, will the Colonial Office begin to encourage Nyasalanders to take a greater share in the government of their country? Will the insistence be on multi-racial representation continually with an official majority, or will there be a gradual relinquishment of authority to multi-racial unofficial control?

Will the Colonial Office seek, as it has said it would, a non-racial answer to the contentious question of electoral representation and franchise so that Nyasaland's next constitutional changes do not, as the last, set up a barrier between black and white?

Fierce Criticism of the Federation

The Central African Post (November 23, 1956) reproduced an article written by Mrs. Dorris Lessing¹ for the *Daily Worker*, the British Communist newspaper, about events in the Federation. In May 1956 Mrs. Lessing told the *Central African Post* when she was on a visit to Lusaka: "I am a member of the British Communist Party." Her birthplace is near Banket in Southern Rhodesia.

In her article Mrs. Lessing said: "Two very different pictures of this vital area of Africa are offered to us in the press. One, represented by the slogans, racial partnership, multi-racialism, and advancement—the official picture, which disowns any similarity to the Union of South Africa; the other, an angry landscape of industrial strife, racial discrimination, bitterness.

"The white settlers cry that it is too soon to give 'primitive people' the vote; the fact is, it is too late—federation has created such bitterness that the time is past for ever where the masses of the Africans would vote for kindly white paternalists. Therefore, the African leaders who fight for the full franchise are called agitators and extremists, are imprisoned, deported, police-ridden.

"The full franchise would mean the end of white supremacy and white privilege. There is no political liberty whatsoever in Central Africa. A series of Acts provide for the instant suppression of any opposition.

"In short, the worst fears of the Africans at federation have been realized: federation has meant white solidarity, but increased oppression for the black people.

"Deportations, prohibitions, political imprisonment are a commonplace for the Africans."

Kariba²

The Times (December 28, 1956) described the progress made during the first seventeen months on the Kariba hydro-electric scheme, the first phase of which is due to be completed in 1960. The installed capacity will then be 500 mW., and power will begin to flow to the Copperbelt. Total installed capacity of the completed scheme will be 1,200 mW. . . .

The housing is quite up to standard for work under tropical conditions, although there have been attempts on the part of the African National Congress in Nyasaland to deny this, to discourage the flow of workers from that territory. It is possible that in the early stages conditions were a good deal rougher than now. . . .

"Most of the Africans come from Nyasaland or Portuguese East Africa. They are recruited through the Southern Rhodesian Government's Native Labour Supply Commission, to balance recruitment with that required for other interests. Minimum wages are £3 a month, with free housing, food, and medical attention. In fact,

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

²DIGEST IV, 2 and 3.

however, considerably more than the minimum wage is being earned."

More than 700 Italians are on the site. They "excite remark here by their willingness to work with their hands, which is not the general custom among Europeans here. The correspondent saw many instances of Italians and Africans, both stripped to the waist, manhandling heavy loads in the tropical heat. The Italians have gone a deep copper colour, which harmonizes well with the ebony torsos of the Africans. On the whole, this readiness of the Italian to set the lead in doing a job himself seems likely to speed the rate of construction, though there are the usual critics to maintain that it is lowering the prestige of the European in the sight of the black man.

"Perhaps the most thorny question raised by the Kariba scheme is the moving and resettlement of some 55,000 Northern and Southern Rhodesian Africans now living in the area to be flooded. This move is the responsibility of the territorial governments concerned, the cost being borne by the Federal Power Board, the authority responsible for construction of the project. A start has been made in moving those families which will be immediately affected by the construction of the coffer dam. The move has been attacked by the African National Congress, who seem generally interested in obstructing the completion of Kariba, presumably because they regard it as a symbol of federation, to which they continue to be opposed. The authorities claim that the resettlement area will provide those displaced with good soil, probably better than that on which they are now working. Nobody, however, likes being moved from homes in which they have spent their lives and in which their families have lived for generations. The fact remains that most large-scale schemes of this kind involve some movement of population, and it is difficult to see how economic progress can be achieved without it."

"Compensation to Gwembe Valley tribes for disturbance and hardship, loss of tribal land and loss of tribal chieftainship rites has not yet been settled by the Northern Rhodesia Government. . . . But it is already settled that each individual man, woman and child will be given more than £10 compensation for the personal loss of gardens, crops and huts." (*Central African Post*, November 7, 1956.)

The Economist in a Multi-Racial Society

Mr. W. Margolis in his presidential address to the Rhodesian Economic Society said the general wage structure in the Federation at present was characterized by high wages for the Europeans and a wide discrepancy in the wage rates of the European as opposed to the African.

"Skilled wage rates in the Federation are high in relation to unskilled rates and in relation to the average productivity of labour," he said.

"The impact of African skill both upon the supply of labour and the marginal productivity of that labour must, other things being equal, have a depressing effect on wage rates; that is, of course, if the aim of full employment is not to be sacrificed," said Mr. Margolis.

Difficulty arises mainly from the tendency to compare the skill of a particular individual of one of the races with the skill of an individual belonging to another race.

Why, it is asked, should an African bricklayer of equal ability with his European counterpart receive a smaller wage than does the European bricklayer?

"It is not the single African bricklayer entering the labour market that affects the wage structure of the building trade, but the fact that uneconomic wage rates for African bricklayers will call forth

a supply of bricklayers which the general economy will be unable to absorb."

There was nothing the European need fear from the development of African wage rates provided the wage rate was related to the true value of his labour. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 28, 1956.)

New Journal

The Rhodesian Selection Trust Ltd. proposes to start a new journal, to be called the *Central African Examiner*, in 1957. Trustees, who are Sir Robert Tredgold, Chief Justice of the Federation, the Right Rev. Oliver Green-Wilkinson, Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, and Dr. Walter Adams, Principal of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have been appointed "to safeguard the integrity of the journal and the independence of the Editor". The journal will have the advice and collaboration of Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, until recently editor of *The Economist* in London. One of the directors is Mr. H. W. Chitepo, an African advocate. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 15, 1956.)

The first editor will be Mr. Francis Baughan, a member of the editorial staff of the *London Times*.

Multi-Racial Trade Union

The inaugural meeting of a multi-racial trade union, which will be run "in the Federation for the Federation", was held in Bulawayo. It will be known as the Federal Engineering and Motor Trades' Union. Membership will be open to artisans of all races. The secretary of the inaugural committee said that in the three weeks in which the committee had been operating 300 members had been enrolled. The union would embrace not only the engineering and motor industry, but also all kindred trades, including transportation. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 7, 1956.)

Lack of African Unity

A correspondent in the *Rhodesia Herald* (December 14, 1956) commented on the lack of co-operation between the two African nationalist parties. Approaches made by Mr. H. Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesia Africa National Congress, had been "snubbed" by the Nyasaland African Congress.

He went on: "The whole Federal system tends to unite Europeans and to disunite Africans. What one might call 'European policy' is entrusted to the Federal Government. Native policy on the other hand is firmly decentralized. . . .

"Though the British Government—and Native opinion—insisted on thus decentralizing Native policy, the result is to make it far harder for African nationalists in the three territories to speak with one voice than in a unitary State like South Africa."

Because of the lessening of tribal differences and the fact that 80-90 per cent spoke some dialect of Shona, the potential national unity of Southern Rhodesian natives is far greater than that of Africans in the northern territories. But they are governed in a different way by Mr. Garfield Todd from the Colonial Office régimes of the north. In addition, they face the constant invasion of the market for their labour by hungry African emigrants from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. . . .

Personal jealousies and tribal differences no doubt increase Mr. Nkumbula's problem in trying to get the African Congress of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to present a united front. . . . But the Federal Constitution, designed to protect Native interests, is probably the strongest force of all in keeping them apart.

Proposals for Federal Citizenship¹

All Southern Rhodesia citizens and people registered on a Federal voters' roll will automatically become Federal citizens in terms of the draft Federal Citizenship Bill to be presented to the Federal Parliament in February. Application for citizenship can be made by other British subjects after two years' residence and aliens may apply for naturalization after five years.

Africans in the two northern territories, who are, for the most part, British Protected Persons, will be entitled under the Bill to become citizens of the Federation, on application and on swearing or affirming an oath, but without payment of a fee. Every child whose father is a British subject will, on being born anywhere in the Federation, become a citizen of the Federation by birth and at the same time a British subject. Children born in Southern Rhodesia will automatically become citizens and therefore British subjects by birth, regardless of the nationality of their parents. . . .

It is expected that when the Federal Citizenship law becomes fully implemented the Southern Rhodesia Government will repeal the Southern Rhodesia Citizenship and British Nationality Act, 1949. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 20, 1956.)

The Manchester Guardian (January 12, 1957) said that the clause whereby British Protected Persons were enabled to become voters federally without becoming British subjects was an exception to the usual Commonwealth pattern and most likely to be controversial.

Proposals for Federal Franchise Refused

Proposals for the Federal Franchise have had to be abandoned because the heads of the Federal and Territorial Governments failed to agree on them. According to the proposals made by the Federal Government "There would be a dual roll system which would involve the creation of two common rolls. One of these would return the ordinary elected Members and the other the remaining Members, such as Members especially elected to represent African interests.

"At present, there are twenty-six Elected Members, and nine others, either elected, nominated or specially selected. But later, by common agreement, the Federal Parliament is to be enlarged. The 'A' roll, which would elect the ordinary Members, would require qualifications stiffer than those at present in operation. A person would have to be a Federal citizen (carrying with it the status of British subject), have an income of £500 a year or more and pass a literacy test in the English language, or (alternatively) have an income of £300 a year or more and possess the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate or its equivalent.

"For the 'B' roll, a person would have to be a Federal Citizen or a British Protected Person, have an income of £200 a year and pass a literacy test in the English language.

"The minimum age for both rolls would be 21 and those who qualified for the 'A' roll would automatically also be registered on the 'B' or general roll.

"The Federal Government's proposals would endure for ten years after which representation on purely racial grounds would cease.

"Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said that the advantages of his Government's proposals were that the common roll system would be preserved; the Federation would get away from race divisions in politics and in parliamentary debates; conditions would be favourable for the operation of the party political system on non-racial lines; and politically mature and responsible people would retain a controlling position in the Assembly.

"The political advancement of non-Europeans would not lie in pro-

curing an increase in 'B' roll representation, but in their taking an increasing share in 'A' roll elections as the number of those attaining civilized standards increased." (*Sunday Mail*, December 16, 1956.)

The Rhodesia Herald (December 17, 1956) commented under the headline "The Shadow of Whitehall" that those responsible for the rejection of the proposals were, of course, the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federal Constitution has made it possible for the Colonial Office to exercise a dominant influence over the plans for the most crucial issue which the Federation has to solve—the issue of the vote, who are to have it and on what terms and, as a result of that, who are to control the destiny of this country. Progress might be made, "the Colonial Office permitting", in 1957 toward agreement on a single common roll for the Federal franchise. But this must be clearly borne in mind: it is inevitable at this stage, if the principle is to be entrenched, that the government of the Federation must remain in the control of civilized and responsible people, that any single-roll system of franchise will not be as liberal as that proposed by the Federal Government. . . .

"We may be saddled indeterminately with a system of racial representation by at least some African Members of Parliament—a prospect both undesirable and dangerous. It is plain, too, that unless some expedient is hastily devised covering the twenty-six European elected Members of the Federal Assembly, the 1958 general election, like the first, will be contested in terms of the territorial electoral laws and on their rolls."

African Gift to University

The Metshetshe tribe from the Gwanda area of Southern Rhodesia has made a gift of £1,912 to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Dr. Walter Adams, the Principal, told Chief Mzimune that his tribe's gift was "the most exciting, the most dramatic gift that the university has had". (*Manchester Guardian*, December 5, 1956.)

The British Government has approved the allocation of an additional £150,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for the Rhodesia University College. This is in addition to the £1,250,000 allocated from the same source in 1953. The additional allocation has been made necessary because applications for admission in the first year from both European and African students has exceeded expectations. As a result the original plans—which envisaged capital costs of at least £2 million for establishing the university—have had to be revised. In Salisbury, Dr. Adams said the size and scope of the University College was to be doubled two or three years ahead of schedule. A national campaign to raise the money needed—£1,250,000—would be started early in 1957. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 30, 1956.)

Federal Party to Clarify "Partnership"

The Federal Party has set up a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Minister of Agriculture, Health and Public Service, and consisting of Mr. M. Haddon (Southern Rhodesia), Mr. G. Beckett (Northern Rhodesia) and Mr. R. Bucquet (Nyasaland), "to study and report on the party's African policy . . . its job is to clarify and amplify 'partnership'. . . ."

The honorary general secretary of the Federal Party said: "When our original policy was laid down it was necessarily vague on many points. What it did was to point the general direction. From time to time statements have been made by our leaders on African policy. The sub-committee will seek to clarify all issues." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 28, 1956.)

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

Right of Appeal Upheld¹

When the appeal of Mr. F. Chitimbala, an official of the Northern Rhodesian Congress, against a sentence of six months imprisonment passed on him in N. Rhodesia was heard before the Federal Supreme Court in Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, Mr. Leslie Blackwell, Q.C. (for the defence), repeated his charge that the "fact that the Southern Rhodesia Government would not allow members of the African National Congress to come to Salisbury to the Federal Supreme Court may interfere with the proper carrying out of the functions of that court. Under Section 20 of the Federal Court Act every appellant is given the right to be present at the hearing of his appeal. But if Southern Rhodesia debar certain persons in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from coming into the territory at all how can that right be exercised?"

The Supreme Court allowed the appeal and the case was sent back to Lusaka for re-hearing.

Mr. A. W. R. Stumbles, S. Rhodesian Minister of Justice, subsequently said that no application on behalf of Mr. Chitimbala had been made or refused. He said: "The right of an appellant to be present at the hearing of his appeal in the Federal Supreme Court is entrenched in Section 20 of the Federal Supreme Court Act, 1955. The provisions of this section would prevail over the provisions of any territorial law in case of any conflict. . . .

"An appellant who was required under the Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons (Control) Act of 1954 to obtain a permit to enter the Colony would, on application, be granted a permit to be present at the hearing of his appeal in the Federal Supreme Court." Mr. Stumbles added: "In the present instance no permit was necessary for Chitimbala to enter the Colony for the purpose of being present at the hearing of his appeal in the Federal Supreme Court."

Mr. Blackwell said that he had pointed out in general terms what could happen. The absence of Chitimbala from the hearing was due, apparently, to an order made by the High Court of Northern Rhodesia. The Supreme Court ordered its Registrar to investigate the matter. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 6, 1956.)

Protests about Refusal of Passports

In addition to Mr. K. Kaunda, the Secretary of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, and Mr. T. D. T. Banda, Secretary of the Nyasaland Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the President of the N.R. African Congress, and Mr. P. Muwanga of Uganda were also refused passports to attend the Asian Socialist Conference held at Bombay at the beginning of November. Commenting on this *The Observer* (December 10, 1956) said: "Each of these persons was refused a passport. Is this merely a coincidence, or is it now the common policy of British Colonial Governments in East and Central Africa to prevent Africans from attending political conferences? If so, does the ban extend to every gathering of a political nature? Would the passports have been refused if the applicants had wished to be present at a meeting of, say, the Liberal International or the Primrose League?"

"The action of the Governments concerned is an example of the paternalism which is still one of the main features of colonial rule and is a perpetual irritant to the educated African. Officialdom is taking it upon itself to decide which functions Africans may properly be allowed to attend. This is indeed a form of racial discrimination: these Colonial Governments would not dream of preventing a European settler from travelling to a conference in another Commonwealth country."

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

The Manchester Guardian (December 11, 1956) said "it could be argued that an interest in certain tenets of Asian Socialism is an interest in discrediting the idea of partnership on which the country uneasily rests". It said, however, that for Uganda "the sharing of Asian experience on very similar social and economic problems might be thought almost indispensable" and concluded: "Is it that these governments are more conscious of what they dislike than of what is actually dangerous to them?"

In a letter to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Kaunda, who is a British Protected Person, said: "I am virtually a prisoner in the country of my birth. Nothing could, I am sure, reflect more shamefully on a government than the treatment to which I have been subjected by this Territorial Government. I naturally feel hurt and bitter about this business of making Northern Rhodesia a concentration camp for me; for that is what it amounts to."

"In 1952 the Northern Rhodesia Government refused to give me a passport to enable me to travel to Britain and now I cannot go to India, even though I have got a return air ticket provided for me, so there is no fear of Government ever being called upon to help me in any way." (*Central African Post*, October 29, 1956.)

In a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. W. M. Chirwa, Nyasaland African Federal M.P., demanded "full publicity of the reasons for the refusal" by the Nyasaland Government of a passport to Mr. Kaunda. (*Nyasaland Times*, November 9, 1956.)

Mr. M. W. Chiume, a member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, said that he would be failing in his duty if he did not describe the decision as "an indication that African leaders were being denied freedom of movement and freedom to be heard at World Councils. . . . It is high time the Government stopped putting a spanner in the wheels of the Nyasaland African National Congress, the national movement, as it prepares for the task of shouldering the government machinery of the country. Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons when questioned about the passport refusals: 'All Governors have complete discretion to withhold passports or visas without stating their reasons for doing so.'" (*Central African Post*, November 26, 1956.)

Immigrants Return

The Dominion Party Newsletter (December, 1956) claimed that more than half of the British immigrants who came to the Federation between 1952 and 1955 have returned home again. It produced figures to show that in those four years there was an inflow of 16,082 settlers but an outflow of 8,078. The newsletter criticized the Government's policy on immigration and called for a more realistic approach.

Northern Rhodesia

The Constitutional Position

MR. JOHN ROBERTS, leader of the non-officials in the Legislative Council, speaking on a motion calling for constitutional talks in the near future which was passed unanimously, stressed that he and his colleagues regarded the present constitutional position as transitional. He continued: "When we say 'talks' we mean talks locally; and we should resist any preconceived constitution being imposed on us from other quarters. Why do we put 1958 as the date when we consider a statement should be made? Because Africans and Europeans and the other sections of the community want to know as soon as possible what the next change will be."

"Not every elector is of the opinion that Northern Rhodesia should go flat out for self-government. There are people who consider that the Federal Government should be strengthened by attaining responsibility for an increasing number of matters. There are certainly those who would not be prepared to accept self-government for this country on any terms or at any price.

"The House of Commons has a finger, even a misguided finger, in those affairs. It is not what they do but the fact that the hovering shadow is in the background. That state of affairs is very frustrating. It is degrading to us, and intensely annoying.

"In matters which particularly affect the African, rights, treaties, and solemn obligations, H.M. Government has every right to a say, but there are other matters which could be and should be the sole concern of the people of this territory and the Government administering it."

Congress News

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, told 3,000 members that protest meetings would be called throughout the territory to protest against the refusal of Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to meet the executive council of the Congress.

Mr. Nkumbula said that when he was in London Mr. Lennox-Boyd refused to see him. He had then asked members of the Labour Party to persuade the Secretary of State to visit Northern Rhodesia. This had now been done, but Mr. Lennox-Boyd, on the advice of the Governor, Sir Arthur Benson, still would not see him, and would hear the African case only from Government "stooges". Congress had extended the hand of co-operation to the Government, but it had been refused. He would have asked Mr. Lennox-Boyd for the recall of Sir Arthur Benson to Britain. (*The Times*, January 1, 1957.)

The Rhodesia Herald (December 19, 1956) reported that Congress would raise the following matters with the Colonial Secretary when he came: (1) Secession of the territory from the Federation; (2) constitutional changes and the enfranchisement of Africans; (3) equal representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils; and (4) lifting of the emergency in the Western Province.

The Daily Telegraph (January 8, 1957) reported that the Colonial Secretary had decided to meet Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, after he had earlier received advice to refuse an interview from Sir Arthur Benson, the Governor.

End of Emergency¹

The State of Emergency declared on the Copperbelt on September 11 was ended on December 31, 1956, by a proclamation issued by the Governor, Sir Arthur Benson.

At the end of November the Chief Justice of Northern Rhodesia in the High Court declared invalid the detention orders in respect of the fifty-four members of the African Mineworkers' Union who were detained at Mumbwa under the Emergency Powers Regulations. He awarded costs against the Government on an application by Mr. Leslie Blackwell, Q.C., who represented the fifty-four detainees in applying for a writ of habeas corpus. (*Central African Post*, November 28, 1956.)

After their release restriction orders were made in respect of forty-eight of the men who had been detained. Mr. A. T. Williams, the Chief Secretary, said: "Some persons are required to remain in the districts in which they have their homes, and some in the Provinces in which

¹DIGEST IV, 2 and 3.

their home districts are situated. Some are free to move where they like in Northern Rhodesia, excluding the Western Province. Eight persons from Nyasaland are to be restricted to the Lundazi district. They will, of course, be at liberty to return to Nyasaland if they so wish. . . .

"The Chief Justice's order referred only to persons detained at Mumbwa and did not apply to the nine detainees at Broken Hill," said Williams. "In view of the judgment, however, the Governor has also evoked the detention orders made in respect of these nine persons." (*Central African Post*, November 30, 1956.)

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (November 30, 1956) Mr. James Johnson, M.P., wrote: "If the detainees have been detained illegally from the start and if the Provincial Commissioner had no powers to do this, it will follow that an Act of Indemnity must be passed by the Government. In any event the whole procedure is an outrage in any Colony under the British flag, and in my opinion, for sheer unconstitutionality is on a par with anything that has happened in the Union of South Africa."

Report of Branigan Commission¹

In its report, the Commission of Inquiry into industrial unrest on the Copperbelt found that the chief cause for the unrest was the "irresponsible" opposition of the African Mineworkers' Union to the mining companies' recognition of the Mines' African Staff Association. . . .

"The Union used strike action, boycotts, overtime bans and wholesale stoppage of work—measures apparently aimed at achieving industrial chaos, and also used the "leggings" and "posting of discs" issues—matters eminently suited for settlement by negotiation—as a pretext for strikes involving 75 per cent of African underground employees and a large number of African surface workers. The Union persistently disregarded the negotiating procedure laid down in its agreement with the companies."

The Commission was not satisfied that the activities of any persons or organizations outside the mining industry have had the effect of producing unrest, but evidence was produced which shows that certain leaders of the African National Congress had in public speeches expressed strong antipathy to a recognized organization of African mine employees—M.A.S.A. "This may have had the effect of producing unrest in the industry and we hold this view because the evidence placed before us showed that a significant number of office-holders in the African union also held prominent positions in the councils of the African National Congress."

Among its recommendations, the Commission included: "The introduction of a shop steward system to settle disputes on shop floor level and provide a training ground for future leaders of the union; the reduction of the number of union paid officials; the appointment of two experienced labour officers at each of the four large copper mining centres (Chingola, Kitwe, Luanshya and Mufulira); the companies should keep under constant review the recruitment and training of staff of the African Personnel Departments: the Government Registrar of trade unions should inspect the financial records of the African Union at frequent intervals and Government should consider the introduction of regular courses of instruction for African trade union officials in the proper keeping of accounts . . . the recommendation made by the Mining Companies and other organizations that strikes should be made illegal was turned down. The financial running of the union was unsatisfactory. An auditor's report dealing with the 1953 accounts revealed cash

¹DIGEST IV, 2 and 3.

shortages, irregular payments and loans and unsatisfactory travelling expenses." (*Central African Post*, November 26, 1956.)

A special article in *The Times* (December 6, 1956) said: "The real reason for the dispute over the Mines' African Staff Association is something more than industrial. The setting up of such an association was a step in the direction of forming an African middle class. All sides saw this, and hence the bitterness of the struggle was exacerbated by personal rivalries, by the fact that the new union was horn-ing in on the old one and by various contentious details in setting up M.A.S.A. . . .

"The scheme for African advancement is now going ahead not without difficulty. Owing to exasperation with the African strikes the European miners who originally opposed it are now making implementation hard by 'work to rule' measures. There is opposition, for instance, to the advancement of individual Africans to new jobs. Europeans want in effect advancement by whole categories simultaneously, which means advancement at the pace of the slowest. . . .

"The identification of the Union with the Congress was really inevitable. There have been efforts by union leaders in the past to resist undue political influence, but there are not enough capable African leaders to go round, so duplication of office holders becomes general. The whole African nationalist movement, both in politics and industry, has to be regarded as one. . . .

"There is one underlying flaw which has much to do with agitation and unrest in the Copperbelt. This is the highly developed system of mine compounds. It is important to emphasize that the mining companies' intentions are of the best, and money is being lavished on high-standard free housing and excellent social services. But all miners live on company property, which means they have no security. When they cease to be employed, for whatever reason, they return to villages in the native reserves. It is impossible under these conditions to develop a contented stabilized urban population."

Conditions were different in the Belgian copper mines. "Welfare and recreation in Rhodesian mine compounds is paternalistic and highly organized, rather as in a good school or regiment. Belgian townships are African communities in which the shops, restaurants, and all normal aspects of city life, are run by Africans for Africans at the level of African requirements. . . .

"Africans prefer fun to hygiene, and one of the results of the present system is that they spend far too much time playing politics. The reason for the companies' policy is, of course, fear that by adopting an ownership system they would lose their labour force, as there would be no guarantee that second generation, urbanized Africans would go down the mines. All the same, a big swing of opinion in favour of Africans owning their own houses is now taking place in both Government and unofficial circles."

The article concluded: "The Government's present strong action will give a breathing-space, but new grievances and new leaders will ultimately arise, and any tendency to rest on oars instead of pressing on with reforms would be exceedingly dangerous."

European Mineworkers' Strike

Some 235 daily paid European employees at Bancroft Mine, Kitwe, went on strike December 8 after an incident between an underground engineer who was a member of the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association and a Steward of the European Mineworkers' Union. The strike was still in progress at the beginning of January and there appeared to be a deadlock between the Mineworkers' Union, the Salaried Staff Association and the Mine Management. (*Sunday Mail*, December 16, 1956, and *Rhodesia Herald*, December 19, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 28, 1956) described the strike as

"due to a minor difference which could, and should, have been settled in the Manager's office in half an hour". It indicated "a spirit of irresponsibility among European Mine Employees' Organizations on the Copperbelt not far removed from that of the Africans. The spirit, in fact, which led to the declaration of a state of emergency on the Copperbelt in September."

Miners' Claim for Higher Wages

The African Mineworkers' Union claimed an increase of 6s. 8d. a shift for all categories of African miners represented by the union, before an arbitration tribunal in Kitwe.

Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president, said that apart from the gap between European and African wages, another gap was being created—between African employees in lower groups and the advanced African. He said that "the present relatively low level of African wages is enmeshed in an inherited wage structure based on the minimum wage required to attract the primitive and wholly inexperienced African to seek work on the mines. It is an accepted policy of the Federation that it is intended to raise the standards of living of both races in multi-racial society. The economic standards must be raised before the standards of African society are raised."

Mr. Katilungu said that because of good houses and pension schemes the African miner on the Copperbelt was staying in the industry. He spoke of under-nourishment due to qualitative and quantitative deficiency, and said that it was more than probable that relatively large numbers, though not suffering from any easily recognizable deficiency disease, are in a constant state of "sub-optimal" health due to inadequate and unsatisfactory diets.

Speaking of the gap between European and African wages he said: "These gaps are not natural gaps but have been created deliberately. Unhappiness among African employees arose when they realized that they got less than 1s. in every pound that the Europeans got." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 4, 1956.)

Proposal to Establish Race Relations Committees¹

During the debate on the Race Relations (Advisory and Conciliatory) Bill in the Legislative Council the clause which gave the Race Relations Central Committee powers of a judicial nature (e.g. to summon and examine witnesses on oath, but not to impose penalties) was defeated by 15 votes to 5.

The object of the Bill is to provide for the setting up of a Race Relations Central Committee and district committees with a view to assisting in the promotion of harmonious race relationships between the various races in the territory, particularly in their common use of premises which are open to the public. Mr. Franklin said the Bill was the second great step—the Moffat Resolutions being the first—which might play a great part in setting Northern Rhodesia on the road to a happy and peaceful future. The country could only develop, remembering that it was the human spirit that counted in the long run and if two million people were wounded sufficiently and often enough they became enemies.

He regarded the setting up of the Race Relations Central Committee as a great experiment in which he had faith. He was sorry that it appeared that the African Members in the House had not quite the same faith as he had. "I am quite certain that the Bill and what it does will have an excellent effect on our reputation abroad. As I see it, this committee is going to give the public a lead they badly need in this country. It is going to harness voluntary and individual effort to remedy certain social wrongs." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 14, 1956.)

¹DIGEST III, 8, and IV, 3.

A correspondent in *The Observer* (December 16, 1956) said that the law "emerged with all its teeth knocked out by the European Members. Insisting that they endorsed the principle behind the new measure—unique in British Africa—and wanted it to succeed, the Europeans argued that since it depended so much on goodwill, teeth would be fatal to its prospects. The Officials agreed that the thing would be just as effective toothless, and voted with the Europeans against their own Bill. . . . Even in its original form, the Bill was not a very potent instrument. District Committees are to be set up to consider complaints about specific acts of racial discrimination in local shops, restaurants, hotels, banks and so on. They will have no sanctions to apply, except those of a disapproving public opinion, an uncertain factor hereabouts when a social colour bar is in question."

Opening of "Inter-Racial" Camp¹

Mr. W. G. M. Lugton laid the foundation stone of the King George VI Memorial Hall at the Youth Camp at Mulungushi River before an audience of 1,000 young people of all races. It is hoped that the camp will be ready in April 1957. But Mr. Lugton said: "I do not believe it is in the best interest of our young people in all communities for us to organize multi-racial activities, except for a show such as we are having today."

Farming Developments

By 1965 the total population of the Copperbelt will have doubled and the area will need more than £2 millions' worth of farm produce yearly. At present the output of the Copperbelt farmers is only £250,000 worth of produce a year. One of the biggest shortages is of milk, in which the annual shortfall is estimated at two million gallons. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 28, 1956.)

An eight-year programme for African peasant farms with a target of 1,000 farms by 1964 is planned for the Northern Province. This number, if achieved, will go a long way to solving the Province's food requirements. Several farmers have come forward to ask that their lands be marked out and limited so that they may obtain Government help in the way of loans. With the increasing development of peasant farming it is hoped that before long the value of planned farming will be recognized and appreciated. (*Central African Post*, November 14, 1956.)

Nyasaland

Attitude to Federation

AN article in the *Manchester Guardian* (December 8, 1956) stated that the Nyasaland Africans "believe Southern Rhodesia is the dominant partner in the Federation and they loathe and fear all they know of it."

"They think the only difference between Strijdom South Africa and Southern Rhodesia is that the one enforces *apartheid* by law and the other by convention. They point out that in the democracy of 'partnership' a constituency of 2,000 Europeans generally contains about ten enfranchised Africans—so that the Africans have no political power at all. They feel that under the Colonial Office they were set to become, like Uganda, 'a primarily African country with suitable safeguards for minorities'; and that now, with the Colonial Office a mere shadow and Dominion status approaching, Britain has cynically exposed them to the helotry endured by the Mashona and the Matabele."

¹Digest IV, 2.

Despite improvements in hospital equipment and roads, they feel that their status is worse. The Federal Government is encouraging settlement. . . . "White artisans from Southern Rhodesia are taking jobs previously held by Africans. Commercial penetration and the posting of officials from Southern Rhodesia is bringing a creeping colour bar up and introducing Rhodesian racial attitudes into shops, banks, businesses, and Government offices—ugly attitudes which the Nyasalanders thought the Colonial Office would never allow." Africans' "neurotic feeling about land" leads to them being unwilling to improve or irrigate their land "because if we do the white man will come and take it. Let us leave it bad and not tempt him."

The article continued: "The openly anti-Federal African Congress Party is overwhelmingly supported and returns all five African elected members to the Legislative Council. Congress's greatest triumph is to have won the allegiance of the senior traditional chiefs, who almost everywhere in Africa see nationalism as a threat to their conservative authority. . . .

"These good old men feel bitter disillusion about Britain."

Colonial Office officials have lost sense of direction and do not believe Federation can work. "African informers are too uncritically heeded. And Africans who are visited by liberal Europeans are visited afterwards by the C.I.D. 'What did he want? What did he say? Did he leave any books?'

"In the hope of excluding the doctrine of passive resistance—the Federation's worst bogey—Gandhi's works are declared 'seditious', as well as Marx's, and the circulation of ideas among Africans is hardly less so. The Congress paper *Kwaca* became too dangerous for any printer and has set up its own press. . . .

"The liberal Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, may not desire any of this, but his powers are limited. It is the inevitable consequence of a loyal interpretation of Federation."

The correspondent concluded: "The only hope I found in any minds there—and I found it in very many—is of contracting out of the Federation and forming some sort of liaison with Tanganyika. There may be juridical objections to a link between a United Nations trust territory and a British protectorate. But geographically it makes as much sense as the present arrangement. . . .

"But official policy is adamant and the message of total despair is in the words of a Nyasaland District Commissioner to me: 'We're told federation has got to work. The question is not open to discussion, so we don't think about it.'"

The Information Attaché at Rhodesia House, London, described the article as "inaccurate and misleading". He said: "The anti-Federation feeling is not shared by all Africans in Nyasaland and the picture presented does not accurately reflect the views of the bulk of the African people, whom the advent of Federation has affected very little except to bring to them a number of advantages in the economic sphere. There has been no change in the status of the Protectorate. Nyasaland, as part of a strong economic unit, will be able to develop a modern economy, the fruits of which all its inhabitants will share, far more rapidly than if the country had remained in isolation."

He met the charges made against Southern Rhodesia by asking: "Why do so many Africans migrate periodically to Southern Rhodesia for work if they generally fear its ways, and why are the numbers of migrant labourers increasing?" and said that migration of labour was controlled territorially and was in operation long before the Federation came into existence.

"The Federal Government has no land to give in Nyasaland" (for European settlement) ". . . within the past few years thousands of acres of land have been bought by the Nyasaland Government

from Europeans and used for African settlement" (African unwillingness to improve their land "because if we do the white man will come and take it").

"The Nyasaland Government holds the sincere conviction that the future of the country and the wellbeing and advancement of the Africans lie in Federation. If people were not misled by agitators, that advancement would come all the more quickly." (*Manchester Guardian*, December 21, 1956.)

Campaign to Abolish "Thangata"¹

By the end of 1957 it is hoped to reduce the number of resident Africans on private estates to some 17,000 families. There are plans for dealing with this hard core and it looks as if the Government will be able to close the file on Thangata a year or two from then.

The Government has tackled the enormous task of moving or settling with rights nearly 50,000 families since 1945. Privately owned land has been bought for these African "squatters" to have some security of tenure as tenants-at-will, while others have been moved to laid-out village areas where they can build a fresh life without any interference. . . .

The Nyasaland Government, the landowners and the resident Africans themselves have shown what can be done by mutual co-operation to rid this country of this potentially dangerous problem. (*The Nyasaland Times*, November 30, 1956.)

Personal Touch for Farming Offenders

Mr. J. H. Ingham, the Secretary for African Affairs, said that "the Government appreciates the necessity for a humane approach to the problem of offences against agricultural laws". An inspectorate drawn from experienced African staff of the Department of Agriculture, "specially selected for their standing among local people, integrity, humanity and common sense", will now personally investigate cases of alleged offences against agricultural laws. Under the new policy, the prosecution of these offences will be handled by this inspectorate. Before any case is brought to court the "inspector" will personally investigate the case accompanied by the village headman of the area.

The Government has also reminded native courts of their power to give suspended sentences "since the object of the agricultural laws is to get necessary practices carried out and not to reduce the imposition of fines to a form of licence for permitting the continuation of malpractices". (*Nyasaland Times*, November 27, 1956.)

African Loans Plan²

The Nyasaland Government has appointed a committee to draw up a plan for making loans to African businessmen and farmers. Among the members, most of whom are officials, are two elected members of the Legislative Council.

Handicaps in Education

A report submitted to the Advisory Committee on African Education by a team of leading Africans from the Northern Province, who included Mr. M. W. K. Chiume, M.L.C., and Mr. E. K. Gondwe, recommended a large number of educational reforms for that Province, including more assistance to voluntary educational organizations, the establishment of a technical school and teacher training centre and that greater help be given to community schools, and financial support for girls' education. The report drew attention to the appalling lack of uniformity in teachers' housing, in school

buildings, and the lack of Government control on the use of funds given to voluntary bodies and emphasized the need for agricultural education, and for "instilling into the children the maxim that there is as much dignity in tilling the land as in writing a poem". The unfortunate feature of our educational system is the apparent production of pupils who look to white collar jobs as their immediate job. (*Nyasaland Times*, November 23, 1956.)

The Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, told the Advisory Committee on African Education of its impending reorganization to meet "increasing interest in education now being shown by the African people. The demand is always for universal education but that obviously is quite out of the question and even the demand for a much more extensive system of education is held back owing to the lack of finance and the absence of qualified teachers." (*Central African Post*, November 23, 1956.)

Africans to Take Over Schools

The Nyasaland Government announced that it would launch an experiment under which the Mzimba Native Authority will take over some primary African schools in its area. They are at present run by missions, which raise money from the local Africans to run them. The scheme will be administered by a district education committee, set up by the Government. No school will be taken over without the consent of the mission which is at present running it. The mission will give up control of about 50 of the 160 schools in the district.

The Government says that the scheme could be extended to any part of Nyasaland, but it has been recommended that it should go ahead in one pilot area at first. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 18, 1956.)

New Apprenticeship Council

The *Nyasaland Times* (November 13, 1956) welcoming the first meeting of the Apprenticeship Council said: "The Protectorate can look to the formation of this council as a mark of its progress upwards from a purely agricultural community, where the only skill known was in the use of a hoe, to a modern, highly specialized community where the unskilled are a hindrance." The Council will regulate conditions of training in employment for young men and so encourage the growth of apprenticeship schemes in industry.

Talks on Non-European Agriculture³

Talks on the question of federalizing non-African agriculture have been held between the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, and representatives of the Nyasaland Farmers' Union and the Nyasaland Tea Association. A Government House spokesman emphasized that the discussions were informal. The Farmers' Union has been campaigning for some time for a working party to be set up to investigate this question of federalizing non-African agriculture. (*Central African Post*, November 23, 1956.)

Southern Rhodesia

Federal and Territorial Franchise

MR. R. S. GARFIELD TODD, the Prime Minister, said that he would like to postpone all considerations of franchise until the Southern Rhodesian commission on the franchise had reported in March, 1957. He criticized the Federal proposals for a "two-roll system".

Mr. Garfield Todd said: "I believe it true to say that in Southern

¹DIGEST I, 11; II, 2 and 3; III, 3.

²DIGEST III, 8, for N. Rhodesia.

³DIGEST III, 5.

Rhodesia the common roll system is widely supported, and that the real issue is the qualification which should be required of an applicant—what are the marks of a capable, responsible, and civilized person. If Federal Government plans should envisage enfranchising people with low qualifications on a B roll, then a large number of people might be enfranchised for Federal elections, even though it would be a limited enfranchisement, and this group would have no vote in their own country's elections.

"However, the embarrassment could go further, for if the proposals put forward by the Federal Government implied a change in the Constitution, then the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, along with the Legislative Houses of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, could object and hold up the passage of the Bill. In Southern Rhodesia we would certainly call Parliament together to give such a measure the most careful consideration." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 6, 1956.)

Proposed Charter of Race Relations

The Luanshya Branch of the Federal Party is seeking support for a new Charter of Race Relations which aims to establish "a society united in loyalty to the Crown, in one patriotism, one allegiance and one common happiness of all peoples in the Federation". It proposes a common roll but rejects the idea of universal suffrage. It also proposes: "That in every constituency there shall be one African and one non-African Member of the Territorial Legislature and that the same principle shall apply to the Federal House of Assembly." Registered voters—black and white—would be required to vote once for a European and once for a non-European candidate.

On the subject of qualifications for the franchise, it says: "We recognize that the final elimination of some aspects of racial segregation will take some time and that reforms towards this end too hastily carried out might cause injustice to individuals and communities, and might jeopardize the preservation of civilization standards.

"It shall be our policy, while bearing in mind these considerations, that we shall proceed vigorously towards a true association into one electoral system and one citizenship with English as the official language." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 19, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 20, 1956) said that these proposals were unlikely to be received with anything but reservation, since they wanted to go much faster than most people were prepared to go. The proposal that there should be an African and a European member for each constituency was of particular interest since it would force Parliamentarians to abandon racial attitudes. However, to push through reforms too quickly would be equally dangerous as to delay making reforms when they were due, but even more certainly fateful than moving too fast would be a policy of moving too slowly.

Use of African Labour

The Prime Minister said that Southern Rhodesia had less than one-third of the Federation's population, but provided two-thirds of the jobs for wage earners. It stood at the beginning of its industrial era but already it had 78,000 Europeans and 604,000 Africans in regular employment. The African figure included 44,000 women who were employed on farms, mines, in factories, and in domestic service. The Colony depended on neighbouring territories for 295,000 workers.

"If we are to meet the needs for labour for our expanding production," said Mr. Todd, "we shall have to accept some hard facts. One is that the ratio of African farmers to industrial workers will

have to be altered until about one-third of the population is engaged on the land and two-thirds in primary and secondary industry and commerce. This would provide increased numbers of workers for industry and would make room for larger holdings for African farmers, and so enable the standard of living of the rural African to be raised." An important first step had been shown by the provision of 99-year leasehold for home ownership schemes, but the 5,000 houses at present being built would have to be followed by tens of thousands more. By making real farmers of rural Africans, and secure town-dwellers and industrialists of the balance, the country could add another 150,000 men and women to its labour force and it would need to do this. Another vitally important step was to make better use of available labour. (*South Africa*, December 15, 1956.)

Africans Demand Apprenticeship

The annual conference of the Southern Rhodesia African Artisans' Union demanded the same apprenticeship facilities as those provided for Europeans. A resolution claimed that the Government was committed to protecting the interests of European artisans and that the consequence of this policy was untold suffering among African artisans whose interests were completely neglected by the Government.

The retiring President, Mr. J. Z. Moyo, said that multi-racial unions would not be possible for a very long time to come because there was a clash of interests between the European worker and the African worker. He added that the time had arrived when African artisans should be integrated in the building industry "as opposed to merely providing cheap labour to the Native Engineering Department and the municipalities".

Plan for Identity Books

Southern Rhodesian Government is planning to give, on request, special identity books "to prosperous and advanced African citizens". These will obviate the need for visiting passes or passes to seek work in the cities, late passes or employer's passes. Mr. Garfield Todd said that possession of an identity book would not in itself confer the franchise. The books would probably be of red leather, containing the owner's photograph and the declaration of his property; "possibly Africans in fixed and well-known employment, such as teachers, will be able to get them too". (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 17, 1956.)

The *Johannesburg Star* (December 21, 1956) said that the issue of such books would eliminate "the main pinpricks and humiliations of which educated law-abiding Natives of Southern Rhodesia complain". It compared the proposal with the systems already in existence in Portuguese and Belgian Africa, but said that it was not yet clear whether the Southern Rhodesian system would be the same. The booklets, however, would be clearly different from the identity books which South Africa had been issuing to Natives.

Racial Discrimination

Mr. Patrick Matimba, a Rhodesian citizen who married a Dutch girl whilst studying in England, returned to Southern Rhodesia "to claim the right of every human being to have his wife with him under the same roof in his homeland". Mr. Matimba declared: "I intend to ask the High Court to make a declaration that under the Land Apportionment Act, which separates races on various occasions, there is no clause which bars intermarriage of races. Assuming that the court makes or affirms the above-mentioned declaration, and since there is no law which bars intermarriage in our country, it will then be lawful for any man to live with his wife of any race wherever

he may be allowed to live under the Act." (*The Times*, November 20, 1956.)

Mr. P. Fletcher, Minister of Native Affairs, said that it was a matter concerning Mr. Matimba's private life and consequently he could not discuss it. *The Observer* (November 18, 1956) pointed out that the Land Apportionment Act of 1941 could be an unexpected bar to an interracial marriage in Southern Rhodesia, even though the marriage itself is not unlawful. This Act lays down a framework for racial segregation just as complete as South Africa's. The Act specifies that no native shall occupy land in the European area and that no European shall occupy land in a native area. Nor can Mr. Matimba and his family live in a coloured or half-caste area, because at present these areas are not distinct from the European area, legally at all events.

Mr. Matimba says the only official advice he has had is that perhaps he might consider returning to England to live.

A statement was issued by Col. D. Stirling "that the Capricorn Africa Society will exert all possible pressure upon the authorities to see that Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Matimba are happily accepted in our country as Rhodesians". (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 7, 1956.)

Mr. Matimba said he was unable to accept the offer of a tenancy at the Epworth Mission, seven miles from Salisbury, as he could not afford to build a house on an annual lease with the risk of his being unable to claim any compensation for any improvements, including the house, itself, if the lease were terminated. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 11, 1956.)

The Matimbas have also been offered accommodation at St. Faith's Mission, Rusapi, where Mr. Matimba's father is Assistant Priest. (*Golden City Post*, December 16, 1956.)

A proposal that Coloured women should be employed as shorthand typists in commerce and industry has been rejected by the Chamber of Commerce at Gwelo, one of the commercial centres of Southern Rhodesia. But it was suggested that it would be "fit and right" for them to be employed as shorthand typists by Indian and Coloured traders. . . .

The Chairman of the Gwelo Coloured and Asiatics Residents Committee denounced the views of the Chamber as "discouraging, undemocratic, narrow minded and sectional". He said that Coloured girls were not taking commercial courses—including shorthand typing—at Bulawayo. Parents of Coloured girls would be discouraged and would hesitate to have their daughters taught shorthand and typing if all chambers of commerce followed the lead of members of the Gwelo chamber." (*Agence France-Presse*, November 27, 1956.)

A Christian View of Nationalism

Archbishop Paget of Central Africa, who is also Bishop of Mashonaland, declared in his last diocesan letter before retiring early in 1957: "There is great need for those who live in these parts of Africa to realize more fully that behind all our problems of race there is the universal revolt against Western theories of superiority. The rise of nationalism everywhere is but the outcome of, the response to, the arrogant claims of the white races of the West to essential and inevitable superiority.

"The indigenous races of Africa and Asia are no longer prepared to accept these theories and leave them unchallenged. The peoples of China, Japan, India, Africa, and so on represent the vast majority of persons in our world; and this vast majority are more and more united in their protest against the contempt in which they have been held by the white minority and the lack of respect and courtesy from which they have suffered so long.

"Here in Southern Rhodesia we are not isolated from all these influences, and we forget or overlook this fact to our peril. To face this fact in humility and in penitence for past wrongs is the surest way to peace and goodwill. Above all, it is the solemn responsibility of the Christian Church to learn the lessons of our day and set itself to put its own house in order. Europeans, Africans, and members of the Coloured community must take their part boldly and unflinchingly in this difficult task and be prepared to suffer abuse and misrepresentation from some people in the world outside."

Tuberculosis Danger

The danger of an increase in tuberculosis among Africans was discussed at a meeting in Salisbury; 3,000 new cases were notified during 1956 and Dr. L. Jacobson said: "There is no shadow of doubt that tuberculosis is on the increase throughout the Federation, mainly as a result of our rapid industrial development." The number of notified cases represented a six-fold increase in ten years and occupied about 13 per cent of all available hospital beds in the Colony. Dr. A. J. P. Graham pointed out that the disease was most prevalent among the African population and that at present the problem of T.B. in Europeans is comparatively small. One of the necessities was the planning of Native housing near sites of employment to avoid long journeys, often in wet clothes, and providing good housing and adequate diet. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 7 and 10, 1956.)

Transport Commission Hears Evidence

The Commission of Inquiry into the Transport¹ Services under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Beadle heard arguments in favour of subsidized fares for Africans. Mr. H. Reedman, M.P., suggested that employers pay a block subsidy and that other grants be made by the State and the municipalities concerned.

Other witnesses from Salisbury stressed the need for an increase in African wages. An African probation officer, Mr. T. G. Nduna, told the Commission that because of the high transport charges, nine out of ten African families had "hardly enough food to eat". He said the statutory monthly wage of £4. 15s. 6d. was illogical and advocated a £10 minimum with allowances for marriage and children.

"Wages for the African today are not adjusted to meet the rising cost of living."

An official of the Central Statistical Office said that on a salary of £5 a month, in Salisbury, workers spend £1. 15s. or 35 per cent, on travelling to work. The figures for other countries, taken in various years from 1936 to 1954, ranged from 2.3 per cent to 7 per cent.

In Bulawayo a delegation from the African National Congress, urged that a decent wage was the solution. A minimum of £2. 10s.—£3 per week was suggested. The need for a detailed social survey into African needs was stated.

African Railway Workers Re-instated¹

A statement issued by the Rhodesia Railways says: "As an act of grace, the Rhodesia Railways will, with effect from January 1957, condone for all purposes the break in service of African employees in Bulawayo, who, prior to October 5, were re-engaged as new entrants following their dismissal as a result of the strike in September."

About 6,000 Africans are employed by the Railways in Bulawayo and it is estimated that about 95 per cent of them joined in the strike. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 14, 1956.)

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

First African Doctor

The first African from Southern Rhodesia to qualify as a doctor has done so at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. He is Mr. S. Parerenyatwa, from Mrewa. The Federal Secretary of Health said that Mr. Parerenyatwa was prepared to accept a post as houseman at the Harari African Hospital, Salisbury. He would receive the same salary and conditions of service as European housemen—a salary of £40 a month and free board and lodging—if he was appointed. (*Sunday Mail*, December 9, 1956.)

EAST AFRICA

Central Assembly

THE basis of representation in the East African Central Legislative Assembly has been broadened and strengthened. With effect from December 12, 1956, membership was increased from 24 to 34. Hitherto the Assembly has consisted of a Speaker, 7 ex-officio members who are officers of the High Commission, 3 members nominated by the territorial Governors, and 13 unofficial members.

The nominated members will be increased from 3 to 6 and the unofficials from 13 to 20. Two nominated members will be appointed by each territorial Governor.

Only one of them need not hold an office of emolument under the Crown. He will be one of the two nominated by the Governor of Tanganyika. Six unofficial members will be appointed by each of the three territories, of whom three will be appointed by each Governor. The others will be unofficial members of each Legislative Council. In the case of Tanganyika and Uganda those elected must be members of the Legislature, but in Kenya they need not necessarily be so. Also in Kenya one each of these three must be chosen by the three racial groups—namely, European, African and Asian, but in Tanganyika and Uganda they will be elected "from among members of the council" without reference to race. (*Times*, December 6, 1956.)

Kenya

THE following table shows the present make-up of the Legislative Council:

| European: | | African: | |
|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|
| President | | 2 Ministers | |
| Vice-President and Speaker | | 2 nominated Members | |
| 6 ex-officio Ministers | | 6 representative Members | |
| 2 nominated Ministers | | — | |
| 4 unofficial Ministers | | 10 | |
| 13 nominated Members | | — | |
| 10 elected Members | | | |
| — | | | |
| 37 | | | |
| — | | | |
| Asian: | | Arab: | |
| 2 Ministers | | 1 in Council of Ministers | |
| 2 nominated Members | | 1 nominated Member | |
| 6 elected Members | | 1 elected Member | |
| — | | — | |
| 10 | | 3 | |
| — | | — | |

Plus 2 Corporate Members who may be of any race, yet to be appointed.

Note: The Official Members are the President, Vice-President, 16 Ministers and 18 Nominated Members. (Although 8 Ministers will be answerable to the electorate, as Ministers they will rank as officials of the Government while in office.) The Unofficial Members are the Elected, Representative and Corporate Members. (African Representative Members will be elected as from March 1957.)

Registration of African Voters

Approximately 100,000 Africans have been registered as qualified voters at the African elections which take place in March. This is a lower total than had been hoped for; estimates of the numbers who would be qualified to vote have varied from 300,000 to 500,000. But the number of registered African voters exceeds the number of European, Asian and Arab voters, who together number 83,000.

Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., writing to *The Times* (December 20, 1956) said: "The number of registrations might be substantially higher were it not for the provisions of the Legislative Council (African Representation) Ordinance, 1956. Section 13 provides, *inter alia*, that no African shall be included in the register for any electoral area who 'is or has been the subject of a detention order made under the emergency regulations, 1952'. How this disqualification can possibly be justified is not easy to see. Persons detained under the emergency regulations are not convicted criminals, although some people in Kenya appear to regard them as such. It is surely a novel departure in electoral law that because a man is or has been detained by an administrative order he should therefore be disfranchised?"

"It is true that a provincial commissioner may in any particular case remove such disqualification in respect of an African in his province who has been, but is no longer, detained. But he is under no obligation to do so—not even in the case of those who have been released after investigation by the advisory committee. And the 40,000 persons now remaining in the detention camps are disfranchised completely.

"Even more remarkable are the provisions of Section 19 which enacts that: '... no person being a member of the Kikuyu, Meru, or Embu tribe shall be eligible to be registered as a voter unless the district commissioner of the district in which such person normally resides certifies in writing that such person, on account of his loyal and active support of the Government in the emergency, may be so registered; and the grant or refusal of any certificate under this subsection shall lie in the absolute discretion of the district commissioner.'

"It is further provided that: 'neither the grant nor the refusal nor the cancellation of any certificate under this section shall be called in question in any Court of proceedings whatsoever.' . . .

"I for one have never before heard of an electoral system in any part of the Commonwealth under which the right to exercise the franchise depends upon the caprice of a Government official. There is of course no assurance that the various district commissioners will apply the same or similar tests of loyalty. A Kikuyu may obtain his certificate in Nyeri or Fort Hall. At the same time a precisely similar application may be turned down in Nairobi.

"The final provision which precludes any form of inquiry by the Courts means that even if a district commissioner were to exercise his discretion upon manifestly improper grounds—or indeed if he were to refuse to exercise it at all—the would-be voter would have no redress. This is sheer administrative lawlessness."

Mr. E. H. Windley, Minister for African Affairs, in a letter to *The Times* (December 27, 1956) said: "Mr. Dingle Foot suggests that the 'loyalty test' is the reason for the low percentage of potential

voters who have so far registered. Your readers may be interested to know that the percentage of the adult population in the Central Province, where the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru live, who have registered is approximately 6 per cent and is as high as in any part of the country. Among the Masai and the tribes of the Rift Valley, where the loyalty test is not applicable, the percentage is unfortunately little over 1 per cent. . . .

"The Commissioner entrusted with the task of recommending electoral arrangements for Africans in Kenya took pains to consult the Africans themselves, and the loyalists urged him to ensure that no man who had taken a Mau Mau oath should be entrusted with the vote at the first African elections.

"The Kenya Government considered that many who had taken an oath had done so under grave intimidation and had subsequently shown by their acts of resistance and attitude to Mau Mau that they had renounced these false doctrines. The Government therefore decided that the test which the African loyalists demanded should be in the form of proof of active support to the Crown during the emergency. In view of the bitterness which cut across families and clans in the struggle against terrorism the task of applying this test was entrusted to those who are still universally regarded by Africans—as fit not by Mr. Foot—as impartial arbiters.

"By throwing into the arena an accusation of 'administrative lawlessness' Mr. Foot has cast an unjustified slur on administrative officers who have given devoted service in arduous and dangerous times to build a better life for the Kikuyu and to restore law and order under the most difficult conditions."

In reply Mr. Foot wrote: "Mr. E. H. Windley has either ignored or completely misunderstood the points which I endeavoured to make about the African franchise in Kenya. In the first place I suggested that there must be persons in the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes who took no part in Mau Mau but who, for perfectly legitimate reasons, were not actively associated with the security forces. Why should they be refused the right to vote? Secondly, I inquired what justification there can possibly be for denying the franchise to a man who has not been convicted of any crime but who has been the subject of a detention order. My third contention was that the franchise is a right and not a favour and that it ought not to lie within the unfettered discretion of any Government official—however conscientious and high-minded he may be—to grant or withhold it. . . .

"I entirely accept what he says about administrative officers who have given devoted service to Kenya: nor did I cast any slur upon them. My criticism was directed at that section of the Ordinance which provides that 'neither the grant nor the refusal nor the cancellation of any certificate . . . shall be called in question in any court or proceedings whatsoever.' Such a provision is, I maintain, quite indefensible. It is surely a commonplace that even the wisest and most dedicated public servants ought never to be placed above the law. Yet this is what it means when it is enacted that their decisions can never in any circumstances be challenged in any court." (*The Times*, December 29, 1956.)

A difficult problem faces the Government as a result of the failure of Nairobi Africans to apply for registration. *The Observer* (December 30, 1956) reported that although there is an African population of 140,000 in Nairobi little more than 1,000 have thus far registered to vote, making it among the lowest of all electoral areas, even taking into account the fact that many living in Nairobi have chosen to register to vote in home districts. The Nairobi African Congress leader, Mr. Clement Argwings-Kodhek, and the trade union chief, Mr. Tom Mboya, both of whom are standing in the Nairobi con-

stituency, fear that this constituency, which should have been the most politically mature and free from tribal prejudices, will be in danger of being incorporated in a neighbouring rural constituency.

Mr. Muchohi Gikonyo, a member of the present Legislative Council, also plans to stand for election. The eight African unofficial members of the Kenya Legislative Council issued a "united front" policy statement. They say that home rule must wait until the African people are strong enough to influence effectively public affairs in Kenya for the benefit of the whole country. At the same time the united front must press for democratic forms of Government with majority rule as their objective.

European Political Parties

The Reform Party has been set up by Europeans who have broken away from the Federal Independence Party. Their eight-point policy for the political and Constitutional future of Kenya declares complete loyalty to the British Crown. They favour the reorganization of the European constituencies in Kenya to secure fair and equitable representation of all Europeans on the basis of constituencies being of approximately equal voting strength. They support any form of self-government which maintains European leadership. Their Chairman, Mr. R. J. Giles, stated that provincial autonomy was not part of their policy because the election had shown that this was not favoured by the majority of the European electorate. (*Uganda Argus*, November 12, 1956.)

The United Country Party, formed in July 1954 to support the principle of multi-racial government on the basis of communal voters' rolls and to promote co-operation between races, has been dissolved. When it was founded amongst its sponsors were Mr. Michael Blundell and Mr. W. B. Havelock. The time was not considered ripe to extend party membership to other races, but this was declared to be the ultimate object. It was also the original intention of the party to put up candidates for future elections.

The Times (January 4, 1957) commented: "In last year's general election Mr. Blundell's group suffered defeat at the hands of the independents. The group later reached agreement with its opponents, but the price was the severance of their association with any parties. The United Country Party has disappeared as a consequence."

Meetings Restrictions Relaxed

The Government of Kenya has decided "in view of the continued improvement in the emergency situation" to relax some of the restrictions regarding public meetings.

Licences will ordinarily be granted, says the official statement for public meetings to be held in halls or other suitable buildings for legitimate purposes. Owing to the difficulty of exercising control over large assemblies open-air meetings will not be permitted except in remote areas where there are no suitable buildings. Relaying to overflow audiences outside will not be permitted.

Except in the Central Province, members of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes will be permitted to attend public meetings, political or otherwise, but only those who have obtained loyalty certificates will be allowed to make speeches. In the Central Province stricter control than elsewhere is still essential owing to the return of numbers of released Mau Mau detainees. But attendance at Kikuyu, Embu and Meru political meetings will no longer be restricted to registered voters, but will be open to all who have been granted loyalty certificates. "At all other meetings the attendance of persons who have not obtained loyalty certificates will be permitted where necessary to the legitimate purpose of such meetings."

One of the main reasons for relaxing emergency regulations is

obviously the forthcoming African elections and the impossibility of denying candidates the opportunity of addressing at least registered voters. (*The Times*, December 22, 1956.)

Sects and Societies

The Annual Report of the African Affairs Department stated that with the crushing of Mau Mau and the subsequent relaxation of the ban on African political societies, African interest in political matters had increased and tribal associations had started to flourish again. A growing tendency to take part in political and public affairs amongst the Nyanza tribes had been observed.

In the Southern Province the Kamba Association, formed in 1954, continued to make progress. Of religious sects the Report said that in Nyanza Province a religious sect of a pentecostal type called the *Dini ya Mugambo*, which was opposed to the concentration of the population into villages and which attempted to evade tax and communal labour, caused some concern in Kiambu, but this society and the *Dini ya Roho*, which has existed for several years, did not cause any trouble. In Embu, the *Kiamba Kia Muingi*, the first post-Mau Mau secret society, was originated by the Ahoi, but its influence in the district was reduced by appropriate action. This society was also operating in the works camps of the Meru District. . . . Evidence of its presence was detected among detainees. This took the form of a simple vow which admitted a detainee to a "Martyrs' Cadre", and a promise was made to assist all fellow detainees both before and after release and to await "further instructions." . . .

"The Capricorn Society and the Torchbearers' organization were generally moribund" the report stated. (*East African Standard*, November 2, 1956.)

Ban on Trade Union Meeting

The trade union leader, Mr. Tom Mboya, called off a tour following a last-minute cancellation by the Administration of a Mombasa meeting on security grounds. Leaflets had been circulated in Mombasa by the secretary of the Mombasa Trades Council asking workers who considered their wages to be insufficient or who had grievances or problems to attend a large meeting. Mr. D. O'Hagan, the Provincial Commissioner, commented that the issue of this leaflet was "absolutely flagrant disobedience". The police permit which had been issued to the secretary of the Mombasa Trades Council had specified that admittance to the meeting must be confined to trade union members only.

The distribution of the leaflet created a very difficult position. "We had no desire to stop Mr. Mboya from addressing small meetings of reasonable size. If he had wished to extend trade union membership he should have arranged to have a number of small meetings." (*Uganda Argus*, November 20, 1956.)

Wages in the Sisal Industry

The Secretary of the Kenya Sisal Growers' Association, Mr. N. A. Parker, in a letter to the *East African Standard* (November 16, 1956) said that the average wage paid to male adult labour throughout the sisal industry was worth between 67 and 77 shillings a month; 30 to 35 shillings of this was paid in cash, the remainder being received in the form of food and housing. These rates, he said, applied "to that class of labour who choose to engage in the very minimum task amounting to three or four hours' reasonable work per day". Mr. Parker continued: "In addition employees get free fuel and water, free medical attention and, in most cases, regular blanket and cooking utensil issues. Further, gardens are made available to practically all long-service men, or to those with families,

and this extra means of food production, at little cost to the worker, is greatly appreciated. . . .

"Turning to more active labour, such as cutters and factory workers, cash earnings vary from 45/- to as much as 200/- to the best cutters, plus all the other items mentioned above. Only a proportion of these can be classed as reliable and hard workers. Taking everything into account, it will be realized that the plantation or farm labourer has the opportunity to earn as much, or even more, than his town counterpart. . . .

"Why, then, this insidious attack by those people who claim responsibility for the welfare of the African and yet know these facts as well as employers, yet deliberately hide them?"

Fight Against T.B.

The United Nations Children's Fund has voted £52,500 for anti-tuberculosis work in Kenya. Mr. Havelock, the Minister for Health, described this as an encouraging step towards the implementation of a plan for fighting Kenya's worst economic disease, the incidence of which was increasing rapidly under present-day conditions. (*East African Standard*, November 9, 1956.)

African Development Committee

The Government of Kenya has set up the African Industrial Estates Development Committee, to carry out a plan to develop African tribal lands for industrial, commercial, and ancillary purposes. The Committee will have as chairman the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Arthur Hope-Jones, and ten members, including three Africans, of whom two will be members of the Native Lands Trust Board, which is a body of trustees responsible for the integrity of African lands.

The Government has also created a fund of £25,000 to aid the development of industries in African areas. (*The Times*, January 14, 1957.)

Tanganyika

Opposition to Multi-Racialism

MR. JULIUS K. NYERERE, President of T.A.N.U.,¹ gave evidence before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee on December 20, 1956. He made particular reference to constitutional questions in Tanganyika, and said Britain's good reputation as a Colonial Power who had withdrawn from several of her former possessions, was a hindrance when it came to an appreciation of Tanganyika's problem. In the plural societies British policy has always been to prepare the white minorities to govern the indigenous majorities.

Criticizing the Government's franchise proposals² he said T.A.N.U. was opposed to the continuation of nomination in any constituency and to a restricted franchise.

Describing the racial situation, he said that he referred particularly to the 3,000 European settlers because "of the two minority communities it is the European community which can and does influence British colonial policy. In Uganda, for instance, Government found no difficulty in declaring the country to be African because although that country has 50,000 Asians, there are no European settlers. In Tanganyika it is the European minority which influences policy. But even this is a generalization. The truth is that only a very small minority of the 3,000 Europeans think in terms of dominating the Africans. The Tanganyika European Council

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

²DIGEST IV, 2.

which aimed at establishing a Kenya settler policy in Tanganyika attracted no more than 400 members. That organization has now virtually died out for lack of membership.

"The Asian Association had submitted a memorandum to Government in which it demanded the immediate introduction of universal adult franchise. There had been no opposition by the Asians to this demand by the Asian Association. Thus the majority of non-Africans in Tanganyika do not want to stand in the way of African advancement. But instead the Government of Tanganyika only talks about multi-racialism and pursues a policy which must inevitably lead to racial bitterness."

Plea for Universal Suffrage

The Asian Association in a memorandum to the Government has stated that "In a country where 98½ per cent of the people are indigenous, any step that will prevent the vast majority from participating in elections will create frustration and entrench narrow nationalism." . . .

The memorandum lists several objections to the Government proposals. It has been sent to the Government committee studying the qualifications question. While accepting the residence clause for voters as reasonable, the Association contend that the proposed minimum age of 25 is "a very high age" and should be reduced to 21. They point out that 18 is the legal age of majority in the territory and 21 is a universally-accepted age for the franchise.

If the 25 years of age qualification is persisted in, they add, and if this is combined—as it has to be combined—with the education qualification under the second head of qualifications, that is, Standard XII, it would mean that a voter should have passed Standard XII in 1951, taking 18 years as the average age at which a student passes Standard XII and 1958 as the year in which elections will be introduced. Therefore, taking 1951 as the basic year, even the majority of educated Africans will be disenfranchised.

The Association is in agreement with the qualification regarding office, but state that, under the proposed income and property qualifications, only a handful of Africans would be qualified to vote, whereas all Europeans and most of the Asian population would get the franchise. The Association considers this unjust, bound to create a reaction in the mass of the people, and encourage further racialism in the territory.

The Association also state that the Government proposals would exclude a large majority of women from the vote, which they regarded as a retrograde step. We are convinced, the Association adds, that the well-tested democratic principle of universal adult franchise irrespective of sex is the only right course for the people of Tanganyika to adopt.

Chagga Day Address

Chief Thomas Marealle, the Paramount Chief of the Wachagga, entertained guests of all races for the Annual Chagga Day Celebrations. In his address, he said: "There is no doubt that we shall all have a say in the affairs of this country, whatever our skin colour, but there is equally no doubt that, eventually, this territory will be governed by an African majority. We sincerely hope, of course, that it will be a wise and reasonable majority. What we need even more than the vote, I think, is mutual respect and tolerance. Without them, equality can be sheer mockery."

Commenting editorially *The Tanganyika Standard* (November 14, 1956) said: "With what he said about the political situation in the territory, we agree entirely and we commend his views to the sober consideration of not only all the Africans in the territory but to

members of other races as well, and particularly to those who happen to be politically-minded.

"How true it is, as he says, that Tanganyika's troubles are being created and exaggerated by a few fence-sitters on each race who fail to see, or to appreciate, how much we have in common with one another and how inevitable it is that we live and shape our future peacefully together."

African Wages in the Mining Industries

In reply to a question from Mr. Wilfred Paling (Labour) Mr. Lennox-Boyd told the House of Commons that the rates for unskilled African manual workers employed in the gold, lead and diamond mining industries in Tanganyika ranged from 32/6 to 58/- per month. Minimum wages for skilled African workers went up to 125/- per month. In the majority of cases workers also received free rations valued at approximately 30/- per month and free housing at a rental value of between 10/- and 15/- per month. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that no Europeans or Asians were known to be employed on comparable work. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, December 19, 1956.)

T.A.N.U. Sends Student to Britain

As part of a policy for training young Africans for leadership in African affairs, the Tanganyika African National Union have sent 21-year-old Anthony Mchauru to Fircroft College in Britain for a year's course in history, economics and politics.

Mr. Mchauru will take a position among the officials of the union when he returns to Tanganyika. Part of his expenses are being met from T.A.N.U. funds and part by private individuals in Britain. (*Tanganyika Standard*, October 31, 1956.)

Uganda

Governor's Review of Past Five Years

In his farewell speech to the Legislative Council, Sir Andrew Cohen, the retiring Governor,¹ said: "It has been the first aim of our policy to help the people of the country prepare themselves for the great responsibilities which lie ahead. It has been our belief that skill and experience in the handling of public affairs can only be acquired through the exercise of responsibility.

"At the same time it has been our aim to raise the standard of living of the people, the national income and the revenue of Government by the steady and vigorous development of our natural resources. This we have done through our programme of increasing the efficiency and productivity of peasant farming; by a positive policy of encouraging mining and secondary industries so as to broaden the basis of our economy; by large Government investment in the basic economic services, power, communications and water supplies; and by a deliberate policy of helping Africans play a larger part in all spheres of economic life.

"Equally we have aimed at developing the political institutions of the country, giving due honour and regard, and a full part to play, to the Native Governments and African Authorities, while at the same time building up a strong Central Government increasingly manned by local people. We have done this by enlarging the size and developing the representative character of the Legislative Council; by introducing the ministerial system; by the introduction of modern constitutions for the Native Governments and African Authorities

¹Digest IV, 2.

and by giving them responsibility for the running of local services in their areas.

"I have sometimes seen it suggested that there has been too much emphasis on politics during the last five years. Let those who think that remember that education and training in public affairs cannot be acquired through the manipulations of a puppet show and that, if the people and their representatives are to play a due part in public life, politics are inescapable. And I do not think that anybody who studies closely the history of the last five years will conclude that either the Uganda Government or the Legislative Council has neglected the main problems of economic and social development. Four notable reports have been made on basic fields of activity, the Agricultural Productivity Report by the Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Tom Watson; the Maybury Committee's Report on the Advancement of Africans in Trade; the De Bunsen Committee's Report on African Education; and the Frazer Committee's Report on Medical and Health Services. All four committees recommended comprehensive programmes and three of these are now in full operation, while the fourth, the medical and health programme, is just starting to get under way."

He reviewed the progress made in developing peasant farming; the proposals for improvement of land tenure; and resettlement schemes. On the economic side the Governor said: "It is the task of the Uganda Development Corporation to work with private enterprise, and it is to private enterprise that we must largely look for the expansion of our economic activity. The period has seen much development, in breweries, cold storage, soap and biscuit manufacture and other projects too numerous to mention. The geographical income of the country has risen from £67 million in 1950 to approximately £110 million this year. Bank deposits rose from £12 million in 1950 to £17 million last year and bank advances from £3½ million to £12½ million. Imports of corrugated iron sheets rose from 6,000 tons in 1951 to 19,000 tons in 1955, bicycles from 60,000 to 100,000, wireless sets from 2,000 to 11,600 and gramophones from 3,000 to nearly 11,000. New car registrations rose from 1,700 to 4,000 and sugar consumption from 31,000 to over 50,000 tons. (These figures applied to 1955.)

"The Co-operative movement has made great strides in almost every part of the country. The number of registered societies rose from 400 at the end of 1951 to nearly 1,300 at present, with 12 Co-operative Unions. The annual turn-over of the societies was estimated at over £4 million in 1955. During the period 10 gineries have been either acquired under the cotton re-organization scheme, purchased or erected for Co-operative Unions, with substantial assistance from public funds by way of long-term loans.

"There has been a substantial increase during the last five years in the number of African traders and in the volume of business which they do; it is estimated that the number has now risen to 15,000 conducting approximately 35 per cent of the total retail trade of the Protectorate to a value of from £15 to £20 million per year. Under the programme for the advancement of Africans in trade, help is being given to traders by the Government in four main ways, instruction to individuals in trading techniques, associations of traders for mutual advantage, extension of wholesale buying facilities and financial aid to assist individual traders to develop their business.

"Nearly 700 loans have been made to traders from the Credit and Savings Bank and the African Loans Fund to a total value of about £140,000; this of course only represents part of the loans made from these sources. An African Trade Development Fund of £400,000 was established by Government in 1955 to provide African traders with premises for rental in the townships and trading centres."

Reviewing education Sir Andrew said: "The quality and efficiency of teacher training has been increased by concentrating our efforts on 23 teacher training colleges and providing them with able staff and modern equipment, while at the same time the output of teachers has been greatly increased. Nine completely new colleges have been built and others extended. In 1951 ten Junior Secondary teachers, 130 Primary teachers and 430 Vernacular teachers qualified. The Vernacular grade has now been abolished and in 1956 nearly 900 Primary teachers and 66 Junior Secondary teachers qualified. We are still only half-way through the development period, and the annual output of trained primary teachers will rise still further under the planned programme to 1,100.

"Much progress has been made towards consolidating senior secondary schools as two-stream schools offering a four-year course. Very large extensions have been made to the existing schools and three new Senior Secondary Schools have been built. In 1951 the enrolment in Secondary Schools was 4,700 in Junior Secondary Schools and 800 in Senior Secondary Schools, a total of 5,500. In 1956 the total enrolment is 11,400, 9,100 in Junior Secondary Schools and 2,300 in Senior Secondary Schools; the increase of nearly 200 per cent in the enrolment in Senior Secondary Schools will be specially noted. The number of grant-aided Primary Schools has increased from 1,400 in 1951 to about 1,900 this year, with many of the schools being upgraded. The enrolment of children has increased from 170,000 in 1951 to about 270,000 this year. During this period of very rapid advance the percentage of girls attending grant-aided Primary Schools rose from 23.5 per cent in 1951 to 26 per cent in 1956.

"There has been a great expansion of technical education, and there are now 26 Rural Trade Schools, with many others in embryo; 12 Government and Mission Technical Schools at the junior secondary level with a total of about 1,500 pupils; and the Kampala Technical Institute with a present enrolment of 540 pupils and a part-time enrolment for evening classes of students of all races of between 500 and 600."

Sir Andrew concluded: "In my judgment the most important achievement of the country during the last five years has been the real progress made in giving responsibility to Africans in all the main spheres of public life. A new atmosphere has been created in the country. The aim of all our efforts, the building up of the country towards the goal of self-government in the future, is now clearly understood; the course is set, and the task will go steadily forward. Two things follow from this. First all who have come from outside the country to live and work here must identify themselves with this aim, this goal and this task in what they say and do, in their attitude to public affairs and in their personal dealings with individuals. . . . Secondly the responsibilities which are being progressively given to the people of this country place on them a special obligation. . . . The aim of political progress is clear, but the rate of advance will depend not simply on the effectiveness of Government policy, but on the actions and attitudes and sense of responsibility of the people. It is indeed of the utmost importance that all who take part in public life in this country should constantly demonstrate by word and deed their devotion to those high principles of democracy on which the development of our political institutions is based and at which the political aspirations of the people are aimed.

"During the last five years we have seen much progress in building up the institutions of the country, in training its men and women and in developing its resources. Given goodwill, co-operation and tolerance, I am confident that this progress will steadily continue and I express my faith in the future of this country and its people. To

you, Honourable Members, I wish every success and good fortune in your great task of leading the country forward."

Students Question New Governor

The President of the Uganda Students' Association in London, Mr. I. Ndawula, told Sir Frederick Crawford, that there are people who blame Sir Andrew Cohen for conducting the country's progress at an excessive pace. "It is said," he continued, "that the Colonial Secretary was requested to select someone who would put his foot on the brakes to slow down the rate of progress. Many Africans have, therefore, suspicions about you."

Mr. Ndawula told Sir Frederick that the Students' Association would be the last to forget the splendid work done by Sir Andrew in the development of the country politically, economically and socially.

Sir Frederick Crawford assured the students that the people of Uganda will soon discover that their suspicions were unfounded. He added that Lady Crawford and himself would do everything possible to bring about better understanding among the people. (*Uganda Eyogera*, December 14, 1956.)

Direct Elections

Recommendations have been published governing the direct election of five Representative Members from Buganda to the Uganda Legislative Council at the end of 1957.

Candidates have to be 27 years of age or more, able to speak, write and read English reasonably well, be a registered voter in Buganda and have an income of at least £200 a year or own property worth £700 or more. . . . The candidate will have to deposit £50. . . . A registered voter in Buganda will be eligible to stand for election in any one of the five constituencies.

Voters.—Every voter must be 21 years of age or more and must be able to prove that he or she is a genuine resident of Buganda. . . . A person living in Buganda at the time of the election and who has lived there for at least three years since the age of 18 will also be regarded as a resident. . . . The voter must have one of the following additional qualifications: Have completed primary IV schooling; be the registered owner of mailo land; have paid busulu or Crown land rent as the holder of a kibanja on Crown land for the two previous years; have a cash income of at least £100 a year or property worth at least £400; have seven years' continuous public service or have been employed in agriculture, commerce or industry for seven out of the last eight years.

A representative of the Buganda Government, in the discussions with the Protectorate Government on direct elections, Mr. S. J. L. Zake, disassociated himself from a number of the recommendations. Speaking in the Lukiko he said that he did not agree with the other members because those recommendations were "diametrically opposed" to the principles followed by democratic countries during elections. If the recommendations were accepted as they stood, when a common roll was introduced, very few Africans in the provinces would qualify. The number of qualified Africans would not be very much greater than that of the non-Africans. "If Uganda is an African country," Mr. Zake said, "why should we take it away from the hands of the Africans by saying that if they have no money they do not understand, therefore they will not vote?"

Most of the Lukiko members were in favour of seeing that there was no property qualification for a candidate. (*Uganda Argus*, December 6, 1956.)

Opposition to and "strong condemnation" of these proposed qualifications was expressed by the Uganda National Congress

Youth Organization, which said: "These recommendations are in conflict with the electoral systems followed in all countries of the world which are guided by full democratic principles. We believe that all citizens of Uganda, provided they pay tax, are not of unsound mind, and are not in prison, have an unalienable right to elect persons who they believe are the right people to represent them on the country's legislature."

Discussions have also been held in all other Districts of the Protectorate and a committee of Legislative Council has been set up to examine Government proposals for the election of African Representative Members to the Council at the end of 1957.

The Uganda Argus (November 23, 1956) commented: "With a broad franchise, the qualifications of candidates are correspondingly more important. It is undesirable to limit potential leaders to a particular class. At the same time there are warnings in West Africa of the way in which corrupt careerists can be swept into power behind a few outstanding political leaders in a way which is detrimental to the standards of public life. The most obviously restrictive qualification is that a candidate must be able to speak, write and read English 'with reasonable proficiency', but that is clearly essential if he is to play any part in the work of governing the country as a whole. Above that there is an age and a property qualification. It does not seem that this would exclude any well-educated person. . . .

"The new recommendations will be attacked from two sides. There may be some criticisms that the franchise is too broad compared with those proposed elsewhere in East Africa. To this the answer is that it is on the right lines for this Protectorate and that no franchise would be more futile here than one which was framed on principles designed to reduce the number of voters rather than to try to give the vote to everyone capable of exercising it. The other line is that Uganda should move now to unrestricted adult suffrage. The President-General of the Uganda National Congress, Mr. I. K. Musazi, is a signatory of the report, but the Congress Youth League has attacked the principles of it. The answer is that the value of universal suffrage depends on the level of education in the society that seeks to operate it."

The Manchester Guardian (December 24, 1956) reported that a deadlock had been reached between members of the Uganda Legislature and the Government over the Government's insistence on delaying until 1961 the general introduction of direct elections for all representative members of the Uganda Legislative Council.

The representative members' organization, composed of Africans, Indians and Europeans, has sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, asking him to receive a delegation on the subject. It urged that there should be "complete uniformity" for all parts of Uganda, including Buganda, in the direct elections to the Legislature, and that these should be held in 1957. This conflicts with the Government's policy, announced in April, of universal direct elections from a common roll in 1961, with provision for the kingdom of Buganda to hold elections, if desired, in 1957.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd has refused to receive a delegation on this question.

Compulsory Purchase of Land

The Resident of Buganda, Mr. C. A. L. Richards, informed the Buganda Government that all land within 100 ft. on either side of the railway was to become Crown land. He explained that it was necessary for the proper running of the railway for the Protectorate Government to obtain full title, not only to the land over which the rails pass, but also to a strip of land on either side of the line. He

emphasized that the title to the land would be held by the Protectorate Government and not by the High Commission. (The High Commission of East Africa administers the railway system throughout Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika.) Mr. Richards told the Lukiko that if the Buganda Government refused the purchase of the land, the Protectorate Government would acquire it under the 1899 Land Acquisition Act.

The Lukiko, after debating this question, passed a resolution condemning the Government attitude, and sent telegrams to the Governor and the Colonial Secretary protesting against "this forceful acquisition of land contrary to section 5 and 15 of the 1900 Agreement".

The Progressive Party has associated itself with the Lukiko's stand.

The *Kenya Weekly News* (January 11, 1957) described the two subjects of land and the High Commission as "political dynamite in Uganda" and commented: "To the lay mind the issue seems fairly clear and the Protectorate Government appear to have adequate legal powers to go ahead. However, the power of the Lukiko to acquire expert legal advice and to argue a subtle case has been proved in the not distant past. The next few weeks will show whether they intend building this teacup swell into a full-blooded political storm. Personal intervention by the Kabaka could be extremely effective at this stage. It would serve, once again, to underline his importance in the contemporary political situation."

In Opposition to Kabaka's Government

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira and Mr. J. D. Jakana of the Progressive Party were accused of calling a meeting at Kawempe last August, with the intention of insulting the Kabaka publicly. They asked permission to appeal to the Uganda High Court against the decision to try them locally. Mr. Matayo Mugwana of the Democratic Party has been accused of favouring the federation of East African territories because he agreed to serve on the East African Traffic Advisory Board. (*Sekanyolya*, November 16, 1956.)

Sekanyolya (December 28, 1956) reported that the Katikiro had warned the Baganda not to attend a meeting of the Democratic Party called to protest against the barring of the Party's leader Mr. Matayo Mugwanya from taking his seat in the Lukiko. Mr. Mugwanya was barred because of his apparent support for the East African High Commission.

Disturbance About Land Reform

A disturbance arose whilst the Minister of Land Tenure was discussing with the Lango District Council the Government's land tenure proposals. Later police were stoned and subsequently fired one shot, wounding one man. The situation was quickly brought under control. The Government has stressed the fact that these land tenure proposals have been put out for discussion by district Councils in the Northern, Eastern and Western Provinces; that these proposals have been fully explained to the public; and that it was made quite clear at a much earlier stage—and has often been repeated to the people of Lango, as elsewhere—that the proposals would not be forced on any district unwilling to accept them.

Education in Buganda

The Buganda Ministry of Education stating that its budget for the current year was a little over £500,000, said that 75 per cent of this was received in the form of a grant from the Protectorate Government. The Education Tax provided only just over 13 per cent of the

cost. At present there were 78 Baganda studying in higher education institutions overseas, most of them in the U.K.

Commenting on a proposal made in the Lukiko that the Buganda education tax should be raised from 5/- to 20/- and that the free primary education should not be introduced, the *Uganda Argus* (November 22, 1956) said the increase would not be sufficient to pay for free primary education. It went on: "The point is whether a flat-rate increase in education tax is the best way to distribute the burden of paying for more education. This means that the same amount is contributed by rich and poor alike. The most conspicuous feature of Buganda today is the lightness of the taxation upon those who are better off. The maximum amount payable in graduated tax is 120/- and this with the education tax is the only direct tax on people whose incomes may run into thousands of pounds a year. In contrast, in most countries taxation is progressive. In fact, the rich man does not even merely contribute the same proportion of his income as a poor man, but a considerably larger one. There is much to be said for keeping taxation of incomes low in a developing country, but it is impossible to pretend that the burden is fairly distributed in Buganda at present."

Congress Resignations Withdrawn¹

Fourteen members who resigned in October from the Central Executive Committee of the Uganda National Congress have agreed to withdraw their resignations and resume office. This was stated today by one of them, Mr. S. K. Lukabi, who said they accepted in principle the report of a Committee of Inquiry set up by the Congress.

The dispute which caused the resignations arose from a disagreement with the actions of the party's founder and president, Mr. I. K. Musazi. The Committee of Inquiry recently announced that it considered Mr. Musazi had departed from party policy in advocating an extension of the term of office of Sir Andrew Cohen as Governor of Uganda, but recommended that the resigned members should resume office. (*The Times*, January 10, 1957.)

The Uganda Express (December 17, 1956) reported a speech by Dr. E. B. Kalibala to the National Congress. He criticized the dissensions among Congress leaders and said: "It is not enough for us to think that we are nearing self-government when Indians are everywhere. In every sphere they are increasing their wealth. How can we rule ourselves when we have no money?" Dr. Kalibala recently arrived in Kampala from America at the invitation of the Kabaka's Government.

Somalia

Independence Ahead

THE Administrator, Mr. Anzillotti, opening the Somalia Parliament on November 20, 1956, said that new progress would be made toward independence. As from January 1, the territory would have an entirely autonomous budget. A first step would be made toward the creation of Somali diplomatic and consular services; a number of Somali officials would be attached to the Administrator's office and a few others stationed with Italian missions abroad in order to learn diplomacy.

The Administrator stressed that the implementation of plans for economic expansion provided jobs for 5,000 workers and ensured a relatively high living standard. Certain organizations would be set up. A planning Board would study long-term plans for the expansion

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

of economic resources. A committee including the Prime Minister would choose among the plans drafted those to be referred to an "Agency for economic expansion". This Agency would allocate funds to the economic development plans that it approves. (*Agence France-Presse*, November 23, 1956.)

Somaliland

The Question of the Haud¹

THE Governor of Somaliland opening the Protectorate Council said: "The question of the Haud and the Reserved Areas not only takes precedence over all other questions in the Protectorate but also dominates the whole political, social, and economic life of this Protectorate.

"It would be idle to hide from you how bitterly disappointed not only this Government but also H.M. Government have been at the failure of the 1954 agreement to do what it purported to do—maintain the interests of our people. Unpopular from the beginning, it has now as a result of this failure been bitterly attacked. It had nevertheless been hoped that the agreement would maintain the legitimate legal interests of our people."

He added that arrangements for the establishment of a Legislative Council had been approved, and it would take shape next year. An expanded programme of development for the period to March 31, 1960, had been approved by H.M. Government, with a target expenditure of £2.47m. It was proposed to establish a small development board. A comprehensive scheme for education had been drawn up, and 70 more scholars were to be sent to the U.K. next year. There were now 39 students from the Protectorate training overseas, of whom 17 had gone this year. The constitution of a Legislative Council consisting of three ex-officio members, five official members, and six non-official members nominated by the Governor, with the Governor as chairman, was approved by 47 votes to 1. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 6, 1956.)

SUDAN

Link Between Africa and the Arab World

SAYED MAHAMMED AHMED, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, before leaving the Sudan at the head of a delegation to the United Nations, said: "The Sudan is, in the main, a cognate part of the Arab world, and this is why we hastened to join the Arab League immediately on the declaration of our independence. Our policy in the Arab League is to bring together the different forces at play in the League and to ensure by consultation and deliberation a common foreign policy without losing our entity as a State. . . .

"Our relations with the Arab countries will not make us lose sight of our African ties of affinity. We shall always look south to Africa, strengthening our relations with the different African peoples and trying to help them in their progress and evolution towards freedom and a better life." (*Khartoum Morning News*, November 1956.)

Economic and Trade Policy

In a speech in London, the Sudanese Ambassador discussed some major projects already undertaken such as the Gezira and the Zande scheme. He went on: "The future for quick industrialization in the Sudan is not bright because our mineral and power resources are very limited. Greater emphasis is placed on productive schemes,

¹Digest IV, 1, 2, 3.

and while expansion in social services is needed and is desirable, it is in the interest of sound and progressive economy that priority is given to production rather than consumption. We need to make the people industrially minded before we expect the full participation of private enterprise and private capital. . . .

"Internally enough capital is difficult to raise because of the small incomes and savings of the people, due to low productivity. Our duty is to break this vicious circle and allow for steady expansion and greater production. The scope of Government finances is restricted by the taxable capacity of the people, and this is not large. . . .

"Our own resources of capital formation are not adequate, and we seek outside help. We are doing our best to maintain the good will which all nations have shown us, and we assure those nations whose assistance we seek that we are prepared to honour our obligations, that our development plans will be such as to have no difficulty in repayment in the most prompt and honest fashion. We are not ready to accept loans with political conditions attached to them. We are very jealous of our independence, and we do not want to expose it to risks. . . .

"The Sudan is a great believer in free trade, and has built a strong tradition of liberal trade policies. Before the last war there were virtually no restrictions on imports, and since the war restrictions have been imposed only for currency considerations. We have no trade agreements which tend to discriminate against certain countries or certain commodities. In very special cases we were obliged to conclude payments agreements on balance-of-payment grounds. We adhere to multilateral patterns of trade and payments. . . .

"We want to see more imports of capital goods, such as base metals, machinery, and transport equipment, rather than consumer goods of luxury types. We shall introduce a tax on personal remuneration. This has been deferred until the difficulties of training the necessary administrative staff are overcome. An equitable income tax marks a big change and reform in our existing methods of taxation, and enables us to tap new sources of revenue. . . .

"We are a young State that desires to reserve its independence and maintain friendly relations with all nations. We are embarking on elaborate development plans to make the best of our resources for our needs. We believe in economic progress which establishes democratic freedom, and participation that leads to the dignity of man and respect of human values. . . .

"We have enjoyed your friendly co-operation. Britain has assisted the Sudanese in the progressive stages of constitutional development towards self-government and in building up the modern Sudan. We now enjoy democratic and efficient systems of government, education, health, judiciary, and finance. We are a grateful nation, and our sincere thanks and appreciation go to all."

The Transfer of Power and "Nationalism"

Sir William Luce, Governor of Aden, who was in the Sudan Political Service for many years, spoke at a conference at the Royal Empire Society in London on the transfer of power from the British to the Sudanese Government.

Describing a clash between the North and the South he said: "The Government and politicians in the north believed that the problem of the south was a British invention, designed, for some unknown reason, to keep the two ends of the country apart; once the British had gone they believed it would be quite easy for the north and south to get on together. The Southerners, on the other hand, were convinced that when the British officials left in 1954 they had made only a tactical withdrawal and would return at the first

favourable opportunity. This belief came on quite clearly in the wireless signals which the mutineers sent to the British authorities in East Africa immediately after the outbreak in August 1955. . . .

"The tragic events of those last days of August shocked both sides into a realization that the responsibility for solving their differences was now squarely on their own shoulders. It was vital to the solution of the long-term problem between north and south that the revolt in Equatoria Province against the authority of the Government in Khartoum should be dealt with wisely and with restraint and justice. . . .

"The Sudanese Government rose to the occasion. . . . The way now lies open to the leaders of both parts of the country to find a solution of the problem of living together peacefully and fruitfully, and, difficult though it is, I believe that this problem is not insoluble. But the solution must not be too long delayed if the danger of further trouble is to be avoided. The whole question will come up in connexion with the framing of the final constitution of the Sudan, since the Sudanese Parliament has already committed itself to considering some form of federation between north and south."

Sir William said nationalism of the kind which implied "a sense of nationhood, a feeling of unity and a common loyalty which can embrace and transcend the smaller loyalties of tribe or village or region" was "pretty rare" in most dependent territories. . . . "Unity of administration under alien rule does not necessarily weld into nationhood the disparate elements which the accidents of geography and history have brought together within a single territory. The problems of the transfer of power would be very much easier if we did."

"What we call nationalism in these territories derives primarily from the ideas and ambitions of only a very small proportion of the population, the educated class which we ourselves have done so much to create in the course of our trusteeship, although self-interest may be an important factor in these ambitions. I do not use the word in any derogatory sense. After all, self-interest has always been a very strong and fruitful source of human enterprise."

"As to the stress between the educated politicians and the Governments of these territories, quite early in this conflict there comes a moment when the Government has to choose between keeping abreast of the aspirations and demands of the educated class or using force to repress them. You cannot just ignore them, nor do I think there is any practical half-way course. . . . Faced with this choice in the Sudan, we decided to keep abreast of nationalist demands and push on as rapidly as possible with economic and social development, which was made possible by the favourable financial situation after the last war. Generally speaking, this is also apparently the choice made in the Colonial territories."

"Experience shows that when an alien Power uses force against one section of a community, however good its intentions, it tends to alienate the friendship of the rest of the community, even though there may be little general sympathy with the aims of the minority; it will certainly not receive the active support of the majority. In other words, trying to protect the majority from the minority, one is liable to find oneself being more Sudanese than the Sudanese or more African than the African. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in allowing a minority, even a very small one, to set the pace. . . ."

Risks, Sir William said, had to be taken and it also had to be accepted that as power was transferred there would be "some falling off from our standards of public service and efficiency". He continued: "Independence in the full sense of the word is an unrealizable dream in this modern world, and it should be our aim to encourage these countries to turn to us in the future rather than else-

where for the support and assistance which they will certainly need. The sincerity of our behaviour and our readiness to take risks, and to allow them to take risks, during the transitional period are likely to play an important part in securing their future goodwill."

The University of Khartoum

Mr. M. Grant, the Vice-Principal, described the University of Khartoum as having a central place in the life of the Sudan. Courses had two main aims in mind; first, to maintain academic standards not lower than those of other reputable universities of the world, and secondly, in many cases, to plan courses which are suited to the special needs of the Sudan. The University is not a State institution but autonomous, though the Government provides almost all its income. The University staff, in whose hands (through the Senate) academic affairs are lodged, is probably a unique body. Its 137 members comprise 35 Sudanese, 63 British, 23 Egyptians, and 16 of other nationalities. There were 792 students, but he expected the number to be doubled in five to seven years' time. They are mostly Arabic-speaking Moslems from the Northern Sudan, but also include Nilotics from the South, Greeks, Syrians, and Lebanese of Sudanese domicile, and a few Ethiopians and boys from the Hadramaut; next year's entry is likely to include Somalis too. In 1956, said Mr. Grant, for the first time in Sudanese history (but clearly not the last) we received from the secondary schools considerably more requests (336) for places in the university—from students possessing the necessary school certificate qualification—than we could accept (283).

All educated Sudanese want their sons—and now certain of their daughters—to come to our university for their undergraduate courses. On the other hand there is a widespread demand to do post-graduate work abroad, especially in Britain. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 5, 1957.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Treason Trials

SINCE December 5, 1956, 152 people have been arrested on charges including high treason, sedition and offences under the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. They include 100 Africans, 23 Europeans and 29 Indians and Coloureds. Many of those arrested are leaders of either the African National Congress, the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organization, the European Congress of Democrats, or the inter-racial Congress of Trade Unions. They include Mr. Lee-Warden, M.P., Dr. Z. K. Matthews, acting Principal at Fort Hare University; Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the A.N.C., and Mr. P. P. D. Nokwe its acting National Secretary; and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress.

A preliminary hearing began on December 19 in the Drill Hall Johannesburg. Defendants were released on bail of £250 for each European, £100 for Indians and Coloureds, and £50 for Africans.

Those granted bail were not allowed to attend any gathering other than of a social, religious, educational or recreational nature. They were prohibited from addressing any gathering whatsoever. Exceptions were made in respect of Mr. Lee-Warden, M.P., who was granted permission to attend Parliament, and the Rev. D. C. Thompson, a Methodist minister, who was permitted to preach sermons provided he gave the police an advance copy.

Mr. Van Niekerk for the Crown, said that the case arose out of the activities of certain associations which were commonly called

the National Liberation Movement. This movement consisted mainly of the organizations and societies such as the African National Congress, the Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, the South African Congress of Mothers, with their respective youth and women's sections, generally referred to as the "Congress Movement" or "Congress". There were other organizations such as the South African Peace Council, the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, the Federation of South African Women and various committees such as the Freedom of Speech Committee, the Liberation Committee, the New Youth Committee, the Fighting Talk Committee. It would be alleged that the accused were all office bearers or active supporters of the so-called Liberation Movement and the campaign known as the Congress of the People. Mr. Van Niekerk then detailed steps alleged to have been taken at conferences of some of these bodies to establish a "conference of the people". He quoted from documents said to have been seized from various organizations, and from alleged reports of speeches.

In 1954, the African National Congress had suggested a joint meeting to galvanize into action the South African people, who all the time had been on the defensive.

Documents seized had condemned the present state of affairs in South Africa as Fascist tyranny and expressed opposition to imperialism and colonialism, rejecting them in all forms. Support had also been urged in them for publications including *New Age*, *Fighting Talk* and *Advance*. Evidence would be led to show the South African Peace Council was the mouthpiece of Communism in South Africa and the distributor of Communist literature and propaganda to all the other organizations involved.

Describing the scene outside the court, the *Rand Daily Mail* said: "A policeman with a broken baton and another with a Sten gun stood among broken bricks in Twist Street, Johannesburg, yesterday morning and watched the Bishop of Johannesburg pacify a crowd which had just been fired on."

When the Court re-assembled on January 9, Mr. V. C. Berrange, Q.C., said that the defence will contend that the inquiry arises from a political plot, similar to the inquisition or the Reichstag fire trial. The people before the Court would not merely defend themselves against the allegations. They would assert, and would ask the Court to hold, that they were the victims of political kiteflying on the part of those responsible for these prosecutions.

"We shall show," he said, "that as a prelude to these proceedings and for the purpose of creating favourable conditions, the security police set out deliberately to create a fantastic atmosphere of treason around everything that the accused have worked for. They did this by endeavouring to intimidate the public with their attendances at open and legitimate meetings, by conducting mass raids and country-wide searches, and by flourishing Sten guns, fixed bayonets, and truncheons.

"The most fantastic allegations of plots to poison water supplies, and to bomb power stations have been made by Ministers of the Crown, which we will allege were made to provide a certain justification for the activities of the police and to quieten the public alarm."

The defence would strenuously repudiate any suggestion that the terms of the Freedom Charter were treasonable or criminal. (*Times*, January 10, 1957.)

Civil Liberties Defence Committee

About 300 Indians, 200 Natives and 30 Europeans packed into

the Gandhi Library in Queen Street for the first meeting of the Civil Liberties Defence Committee which was called into being within twenty-four hours of the arrests.

Mr. Alan Paton, Chairman of the South African Liberal Party, told the crowd: "This is no rabble-rousing gathering. It is a meeting of firm determination and firm resolve."

An Indian advocate, Mr. H. E. Mall (Chairman of the meeting), a Native housewife, Florence Mkize, and a European, Dr. Michael Hathorn, spoke. The meeting was told that the Committee had been formed to "keep the people informed about events" and to assist the arrested persons and their families. (*Natal Daily News*, December 7, 1956.)

Mr. Paton, Mr. Mall, Dr. Hathorn, Professor Leo Kuper, Mrs. Mkize, Mr. Selbourne Maponya were subsequently summoned to appear in the Durban magistrates' court. It is alleged that the meeting was illegally held. (*Times*, January 1, 1957.)

Defence Funds Established

A Defence Fund to be administered by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Hon. Frank Lucas, Dr. Alan Paton, and Dr. Ellen Hellmann was launched in Johannesburg on December 13.

A statement issued by the Trustees said: "It is not within our province to express an opinion on the guilt or innocence of the persons charged with committing this grave crime. We believe however, that in view of the unique significance of the impending trials, that all the accused should be able to secure the best legal representation available.

"We believe that during the course of what inevitably will be lengthy proceedings, the families and dependants of the accused should be protected from hardship and suffering. Therefore, we have decided to sponsor a Defence Fund for the purpose of raising money to pay the legal costs of defence; to offer bail; and to support those dependants of the accused who may be in need. We believe that there are many people of good conscience who, knowing that every man is presumed innocent until proved guilty in a court of law, will respond to an appeal for this worthy cause."

Among the sponsors of the Fund are: The Archbishop of Cape Town and the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Rev. Dr. Blaxall, the Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Mrs. A. Hoernle, Dr. A. B. Xuma, Dr. Moroka, Dr. Alan Paton, Senator and Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., Mr. L. Lovell, M.P., Mr. H. Davidoff, M.P., and the Hon. Richard Feetham. Contributions should be sent to T.T. Defence Fund, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg, or funds can be sent out from Britain through the South African Church Institute, 14 Great Peter Street, London, S.W.1.

Christian Action, 2a Amen Court, London, E.C.4, has established a fund for the purpose of providing for legal defence for the accused, giving practical assistance to their dependants and as far as possible that the public should be kept informed of the course of legal proceedings. Christian Action sponsored the visit of Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., to South Africa, to observe the preliminary hearing in Johannesburg. Mr. Gardiner also went as an observer for the three political societies of lawyers in England, and for the Bar Council.

A meeting in the library of the Cape Town City Hall at which a committee under the honorary presidency of the Archbishop of Cape Town was elected to administer a treason trial defence fund, was interrupted by four members of the Special Branch of the Police.

Senator Dr. Leslie Rubin, the Chairman, asked them to leave. When they refused to do so, Senator Rubin adjourned the meeting.

Senator Rubin said: "The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act entitles a policeman to enter any premises without warrant if he has reason to believe that an offence is being committed or may be committed and the delay in obtaining a warrant may prejudice the cause of justice. But Captain Van der Westhuizen refused to tell me what offence he suspected was being or might be committed."

Minister's Protest

Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, protested in a letter to *The Times* (January 7, 1957) against the attendance of Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., at the preliminary hearing, and against the attitude of British newspapers to the trial. He said: "Mr. Gardiner was hastily sent on behalf of three British organizations. The purpose of Mr. Gardiner's mission was to keep a watch on the South African Courts of Justice and to act as a guardian of civil liberties. . . . In view of the action taken by the three bodies, I presume that observers will immediately be sent also to Northern Ireland and to British Malaya, where, according to Press reports, steps were taken last week which would appear to constitute an interference with civil liberties—as seen by these self-appointed guardians of such liberties. Why pick on South Africa? . . ."

"Ever since the arrests took place British newspapers have published a large number of news dispatches loaded with comment which grossly contravened the *sub judice* rule—a rule which is apparently far more strictly observed in South Africa than in the United Kingdom. . . ."

"The attitude of certain British newspapers, organizations and individuals is not so much due to concern about civil liberties as it is a manifestation of the campaign of hate that has been conducted against South Africa for the past eight years by a section of the British Press, by the Communists and Socialists, and also by individuals like Canon Collins, Father Huddleston, and the Rev. Michael Scott. This campaign of ill-will towards the Government and the European population of South Africa is the more surprising in view of the goodwill shown to Britain during the past eight years."

In a joint reply the Chairmen of the three political societies said: "Mr. Eric Louw is mistaken in thinking that we were inspired by ill-will towards his country. Our sole preoccupations were with the administration of law and that we should be fully and correctly apprised of the facts by a colleague in whose judgment and discretion we had confidence . . . we cannot remain indifferent to legal events abroad where fundamental principles of justice are concerned, any more than our predecessors could in relation to the trials at say, Rennes, Moscow, Scottborough, and Nuremberg. . . . We ourselves would welcome, not resent, similar interest by foreign lawyers in the administration of justice in this country, as, again, for example, our predecessors accepted foreign observation of and comment on the Jameson or Casement trials."

The Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists wrote that his organization also supported Mr. Gardiner's visit. He said: "I venture to suggest, for example, that no lawyer who has studied the definition of 'Communism' and 'Communist' in the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 and 1954, would be surprised at our concern."

Lord Winster quoted two cases which came before the South African Courts in 1954, which, he said, made him question Mr. Louw's statement that "in South Africa the standards of justice and equity maintained by the courts have always been of the highest—as high as in any British court of law".

"A farmer was tried for beating an African convict labourer to death . . . the jury found this murderer guilty of common assault on

which the Judge commented 'This remains the most serious case of common assault in my experience.' The sentence was eighteen months. . . . In another case a farmer was charged with beating an African youth of 19 to death. The Judge said: 'I am compelled to send you to gaol', and sentenced him to three years' imprisonment, two suspended! The man's son, a police constable was involved. He was not even tried. All that happened to him was that the Judge told him 'That is not the way for a police constable to behave.'"

Comment in Britain

The National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party condemned the arrests in South Africa in a resolution which stated: "This further use of executive power to intimidate and victimize any South African citizen who actively opposes racialism and the policy of white domination is completely inconsistent with the principles on which the Commonwealth is founded. We send our sincere sympathy to those who are courageously opposing racial discrimination in South Africa, and pledge them our fullest support."

A memorandum before the Committee said that recent events taken together clearly exposed the fact that South Africa had become a police State. The nation was controlled by a Government which identified opposition to its policy with treason, and used its executive power to enforce its political ideology. (*The Times*, December 20, 1956.)

South Africa (December 22, 1956) commenting on this resolution said: "Political attacks on non-political organs of the State (and South African courts remain in the true sense of the word non-political) are a meddlesome aggravation far more likely to create fortuitous misery for the people the Labour Party champions than to lessen the burdens they already have to bear. These attacks by the Labour Party and others, and the publicity which the present 'mass treason trial' is getting in the Press overseas, will have to be borne by the South African Government as best it can. The question whether it would not have been wiser to have dealt with those accused progressively over the many months which have passed since the collecting of evidence began deserves consideration. From the point of view of South Africa's good name abroad it must be said unhesitatingly that a grand trial of this kind was bound to be damaging. But what about the Union itself? On the opening days of the magistrate's examination there was a considerable demonstration of hostile excitement by Africans outside the court. The reputation of the South African courts being what it is, no one in the Union can feel anything but sure that the accused will be given a fair trial. But not all will feel sure that the Government's decision to make it a grand occasion was right."

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., in a letter to *The Times* (December 10, 1956) said: "Police action, as I myself have known and experienced it in South Africa, has been persistently directed towards the intimidation of all who dare publicly to demonstrate their opposition to State policy. The Suppression of Communism Act, with its fantastic definitions of what constitutes Communistic activity, makes it possible for the Government to threaten, to smear, and to bully all those who challenge the social and economic structure of an *apartheid* society. But this Act is peculiarly effective as a deterrent to those White South Africans who, liberal in their sympathies, yet dread the consequences of being identified in any way with Communism. It is effective also in silencing those Africans whose terribly limited freedom can vanish immediately they are involved in a police raid." And in a subsequent letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (December 19, 1956) he called on the M.C.C. to withdraw from the present series of Test matches in South Africa

since "racialism is always racialism, and where racialism exists democracy is always a form of treason".

Mr. E. S. Sachs writing to the *Manchester Guardian* (December 12, 1956) said: "The whole world knows that the Nationalist Government alone, with its policy of cruel racial oppression, is responsible for the prevailing race conflicts, for disturbing the peace of Africa, and poisoning international relations."

African National Congress Annual Meeting

Two hundred and fifty delegates from all parts of South Africa attended the 44th annual meeting of the African National Congress in Queenstown on December 16. Members of the Special Branch of the South African Police, armed members of the uniformed branch and plain-clothes Native policemen were drafted to Queenstown for the occasion.

The Press was not admitted to the hall. Many African National Congress members could not be present as they were among the 152 people detained in Johannesburg. A unanimous resolution declared: "This conference notes with deep concern the events of December 5 when a number of progressive South Africans were arrested on charges of high treason. Conference calls upon all provinces, regions and branches to trim their organizational machinery to keep the people in readiness for any action that might be decided upon by the National Executive Committee to meet the emergency situation."

When the conference started, Special Branch men searched the hall; the Chairman appealed to the delegates to remain calm and not allow themselves to be provoked. Meanwhile armed, uniformed police remained at the ready outside the hall.

At a prayer meeting held in the evening where the Rev. Gawe had been pastor until his arrest for high treason, the Special Branch checked on all entering while uniformed police stood outside the fence. (*New Age*, December 20, 1956.)

Mr. Patrick Duncan was arrested in Queenstown Native location because he entered it without a permit. At the time of his arrest Mr. Duncan was bearing a message from the Liberal Party to the African National Congress. He refused bail. He was released from prison after two days when Africans paid a £5 fine for him.

"Apartheid" in the Universities

The Cabinet has decided to introduce legislation in 1957 to provide for separate university facilities for the Bantu, the Indians and the Coloured people. The Minister of Education, Mr. J. H. Viljoen, said that as separate universities for the various non-European races became available, the White universities would be prohibited from admitting Non-Europeans.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, will be responsible for the direction of the Bantu universities, while Mr. Viljoen will supervise those for the other races.

The Government aim to have three universities for the Bantu based on different ethnic groups—a Sotho university in the Northern Transvaal, a Zulu one in Natal and a Xhosa one in the Cape, probably at Fort Hare. There is to be a university for the Coloured people, probably at or near Cape Town, and a university for Indians near Durban. (*Johannesburg Star*, November 21, 1956.)

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in a statement said: "The overwhelming majority of staff and students at the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand have consistently asserted their independent right to continue the traditional policy of academic non-segregation.

"Cape Town and Witwatersrand fear that to surrender any aspect

of their right to control their internal affairs is to invite the Government to enforce political ideology on the universities. An enforcement of *apartheid* may well be the forerunner to indoctrinated teaching. This fear of indoctrination is strengthened by the report that the new tribal colleges for Africans will be controlled by Dr. Verwoerd's Department of Native Affairs. . . .

"If the public are prepared to allow the enforcement of *apartheid* at the open universities we must face a future of tribal colleges for both Whites and non-Whites shackled to the whims of any government's ideological prejudice.

"Money which was never available for essential research is now suddenly available to finance a costly development of tribal colleges.

"NUSAS strongly opposes any suppression of academic freedom whether by the Russians in Hungary or here in South Africa by the enforcement of *apartheid*."

Dr. Edgar Brookes, former Senator now on the staff of the University of Natal in Maritzburg, has said that Fort Hare has shown that separate university facilities for non-European students increased racial feeling. He had visited Fort Hare, following outbreaks of student restiveness there, eighteen months ago as a member of the commission which investigated the incidents.

The "anarchistic state of mind" which prevailed among many African students there was because they felt shut off. It was an attitude not found among Native students elsewhere.

Senior staff members of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town are to hold a private conference on "The value of the open university in South Africa" in Cape Town, according to a statement issued by the Council of the Witwatersrand University. The Council claims that the policy of academic non-segregation contributes to inter-racial understanding and harmony in South Africa. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 18, 1956.)

The *Johannesburg Sunday Times* (December 16, 1956) commented: "The opposition to *apartheid* at the universities is generally based on one or both of two grounds. The first is that this talk of providing alternative, segregated non-European universities is hypocritical moonshine. What it means, in effect, is that non-Europeans will cease to get university education at all in the proper sense of the word. Probably there are already too many universities in South Africa for the academic and economic strength of the country. The idea of sprinkling another half a dozen or so around the country on tribal lines is sheer nonsense.

"The other reason for opposing enforced *apartheid* at the universities is even more important. A university must be allowed to teach what it likes to whom it likes. This is a large claim, but nothing less will do. If a university is to be subjected to political dogma by a government or any other outside body, then it might as well close, for it will have ceased to be a university. Freedom of thought is essential. During the recent protest at the University of the Witwatersrand Professor MacCrone said: 'The two open universities resent being politically butchered to make a Roman holiday for racial ideologists.' A university in political shackles is degraded, and all those of any race—who attend it and work there are injured in the long run."

Parallel-Medium Education Controversy

Allegations by parents were made in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, today that the Administrator of the Transvaal "deliberately flouted and disregarded the wishes of parents of pupils at the Hendrik van der Bijl parallel-medium (English/Afrikaans) school at Vanderbijlpark"; that he furnished no valid reason or ground for his various decisions to convert the school to a single-medium one; and that he

used his power to disestablish the school as a deliberate attempt to circumvent the wishes of parents.

An application brought by five parents asked the Court to declare that the order disestablishing the school was invalid.

On January 15 this year a meeting of about 600 parents unanimously opposed the decision to convert the school to the Afrikaans medium in January 1957. A referendum was held and 878 parents voted for the school remaining a parallel-medium one. Six voted against.

The Administrator denied the submissions made, and said that the school, at the time of its foundation, was the only school then in Vanderbijlpark. The post of headmaster was advertised in September 1946 as one for an Afrikaans-medium school. The school of necessity admitted English-medium pupils and provided for their instruction. He added: "While it is not incumbent on the Executive Committee to furnish any reasons for any policy pursued by it, I say that this policy is designed to provide a comprehensive education service and to attain the required standard of efficient instruction." (*Johannesburg Star*, December 21, 1956.)

The order issued by the Administrator of the Transvaal to disestablish the Hendrik van der Bijl School at Vanderbijlpark was declared invalid and set aside in a judgment in the Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Marais, in giving judgment, said: "I find that the Administrator, though purporting to disestablish the school, in reality converted it from a parallel-medium to a single-medium institution and that he therefore could not have acted in terms of, and by virtue of, the powers granted by Section 101 of the Education Ordinance." (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 27, 1956.)

An appeal has been lodged by the Transvaal administration.

United Party Future

Sir de Villiers Graaff has become leader of the United Party.

The political correspondent of *Die Burger* (November 24, 1956) commented: "The change could mean a more enthusiastic U.P. Mr. Strauss's name was synonymous with the unsuccessful constitutional conflict and especially with the defeat of 1953. . . ."

The *Johannesburg Star* (November 23, 1956) reported Mr. Strauss as saying he had every intention of continuing his political career when he returned to the Union from Europe. He said he was very happy about the solution the U.P. had come to on the question of leadership. "I shall support the new leader with all my energy."

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, addressing a meeting in Nylstroom said that he wished to ask Sir de Villiers a question to which his predecessor Mr. Strauss had not had the courage to reply. "Would the U.P. restore the Coloureds to a common roll if it came to power?"

In an editorial comment, the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post* (November 26, 1956) said that by this question Mr. Strijdom clearly intended to pin down and harass the United Party. "We have no doubt that Mr. Strijdom will succeed in this. It is so easy, human fears being what they are. We do not dispute Mr. Strijdom's assertion that in the foreseeable future he will ensure that a majority of the White voters do not support the candidates of any party that pledges itself to restore the Cape Coloured voters to the common roll, where they have been for 100 years. Let us concede that Mr. Strijdom must go on winning a majority at the polls by such means—as long as the vote is restricted to White South Africans. . . . Taking the longer view of the national interest, however, we in turn want to address a question to Mr. Strijdom: What, specifically, is Mr. Strijdom, as Prime Minister of South Africa (population 13,500,000), doing to meet the natural and legitimate desire of South

African non-Whites to uplift their children and make them citizens of their own fatherland? We should like to hear Mr. Strijdom speak about such matters occasionally. They affect the well-being of all our children, White as well as non-White, in this changing world."

In his message to the Union congress of the U.P. in Bloemfontein, reported *Die Volksblad* (November 23, 1956), Sir de Villiers Graaff said that the U.P. would bring about the residential separation voluntarily where possible in order to create mutual goodwill and understanding between racial groups.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, in an address to the Witwatersrand Women's Council of the U.P., said the Government were determined to consolidate their position and make it impregnable "and it is our task to crack the fortress". A committee of the Party was investigating the question of making the Senate more democratic and whether or not there could be certain safeguards. "There must be checks and balances so that a fortuitous majority will not change the face of South Africa."

One of the supreme tasks would be attempts to replenish the reservoir of goodwill between European and non-European. The level of this reservoir had sunk low because of the activities of the Government. "On this depends not only our future, but the re-establishment of confidence in South Africa overseas, and the position we as Europeans will have in the rest of Africa." The U.P. regarded integration of Native labour not only as an established fact but as a dynamic process which would have to continue. (*Johannesburg Star*, December 3, 1956.)

The United Party has appointed a committee to examine the whole constitutional position, "including the best way of redressing the grave injustice so needlessly and undeservedly inflicted on the Coloured people". Its report will be submitted to a special Union congress to be held in the second half of 1957. In its deliberations, the committee will be assisted by some of the most eminent constitutional authorities in the Commonwealth.

The Manchester Guardian (December 11, 1956) said: "Though less than three weeks have passed since the election of Sir de Villiers Graaff as the new leader of the United Party a subtle and perhaps significant change in the political climate has already become apparent in South Africa."

"Hitherto the most worrying factor on the Opposition side has been the marked apathy of the electorate to the Government's major excesses in its furtherance of *baasskap apartheid*. . . ."

"Throughout the proceedings of the United Party congress every appeal for forthright opposition to the Government's ideological measures was greeted with vigorous applause. For example, a suggestion that the Government should curtail the purchase of land for Natives was summarily rejected, with Afrikaans-speaking delegates from the country areas loudest in their insistence that the promises made by General Hertzog in 1936 to add to the area of the Native reserves should be fully implemented."

"Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth a congress of the Federated Chamber of Industries, after being told by the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, to conform to the Government's ideas of *apartheid* in industry, proceeded to pass a series of resolutions with precisely the opposite effect. . . ."

"Three factors have undoubtedly contributed to this stiffening of public opinion against the Strijdom régime. These are:

- (1) The drastic nature of the removal plans involving Indians and Coloureds which have been announced under the Group Areas Act in various centres throughout the Union.
- (2) The public agitation in the Transvaal to preserve the principle of parallel-medium schools; and

(3) The widespread and melodramatic arrests last week of a number of persons of various races on charges of high treason.

"The United Party as a whole has accepted the change of leadership without dissension, and there has been a marked rise in morale and a considerable spurt in activity since Sir de Villiers Graaff took over. His qualities of leadership will be put severely to the test when Parliament reassembles in January and the Government introduces a further heavy instalment of *apartheid*, including race separation in the universities; further and more restrictive amendments to the Group Areas Act; a measure to extend tribalism to Africans in the towns; and possibly even steps to remove the three elected Native representatives from the House of Assembly."

Withdrawal from the United Nations

In protest against what it regards as United Nations interference with its domestic policies, South Africa declared that it would maintain only a token and nominal representation at the United Nations.

Mr. Eric H. Louw, the South African Minister of External Affairs, announcing this in the General Assembly on November 27, 1956, said his country would continue to be a member of the organization and pay its annual dues. But it was recalling its permanent representative, Mr. D. B. Sole, and most members of his delegation. It would send a delegate only to meetings of the Budgetary Committee.

The decision would remain in force until the United Nations showed itself "prepared to act in accordance with the spirit of the San Francisco conference of 1945" and observe those parts of the Charter dealing with members' sovereign equality. Mr. Louw said: "For the past ten years my country has been the object of baseless accusations and violent attacks both in the Assembly and in its committees. These demonstrations of malevolence or hostility were invariably led by India, acting in concert with her Soviet and Eastern associates.

"South Africa—like some other countries that shall be nameless—is faced with difficult racial problems which we are trying our utmost to solve in a manner which will take into account the interests of both the European and the non-European peoples." (*Manchester Guardian*, November 28, 1956.)

Sir de Villiers Graaff described the Government's decision to withdraw from all meetings of the United Nations General Assembly as "ill-timed and lacking in wisdom". "Surely the path of real statesmanship in a world racked by fear of war, particularly in an area affecting South Africa as vitally as the Middle East, is to remain and make whatever contribution we can in the interests of world peace." He added that South Africa was united in its objection to interference by U.N. in its domestic affairs. (*Cape Argus*, November 28, 1956.)

In an article in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus* (December 2, 1956) Professor L. J. du Plessis wrote that South Africa as a whole would certainly support the Government's decision with regard to the U.N.

Golden City Post (December 2, 1956) said South Africa's withdrawal from the U.N. leaves both the U.N. and South Africa where they were before. Whatever the Afro-Asian critics might have said in a U.N. debate, the South African Government would have continued its own carefully schemed policy of handling the non-Europeans in its midst. Everybody should know that South Africa's destiny is going to be worked out in South Africa and nowhere else.

But, the editorial continued, it was sickening to see the withdrawal from the U.N. applauded as though it were a splendid contribution to the course of history.

Effects of Bantu Education

The missionary news agency *Fides*, in Rome, said that more than 800 Roman Catholic schools were seriously affected by the Bantu Education Act.

"The Church, faced with the alternative of selling out to the State and losing control of the schools, had chosen to accept the reduced subsidy, falling by 25 per cent annually, and keep her schools. By the end of 1957 the entire subsidy will have been withdrawn."

Speaking of the £1 million promised by Roman Catholics and members of other religions in the Union recently to keep the schools open, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Pretoria, the Right Rev. J. C. Garner, said: "We must face the fact that this will not last for ever." It should last four or five years during which period other schemes could be worked out.

Dr. Edgar Brookes, addressing the congregation at the closing service in Adam's Inter-denominational Mission College Chapel on December 3, 1956, said nothing would ever persuade him that the policy which was to be implemented was just or right in forcing out of existence an independent school with a century's tradition and history behind it.

Writing in the last college magazine Dr. Brookes said: "It would be foolish to pretend that those of us who knew the old Adam's College do not feel deeply hurt by the compulsory changes that have been made. But we do not and must not cherish bitterness." (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 4, 1956.)

The college was officially proclaimed a state native school last July and its buildings were taken over by the Department of Native Affairs at the beginning of 1957.

"Apartheid" for Trade Unions

The Industrial Conciliation Act, which gives the South African Minister of Labour power to "safeguard the economic welfare of employees of any race, in any undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation" by reserving specified work for races or classes of people came into force on January 1, 1957. No more trade unions of mixed whites and non-whites will be registered; provision will be made for existing mixed unions to be separated on racial lines.

Teenager Vote

The Union Government has decided to introduce legislation to give the vote to 18-year-old citizens. According to the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dinges, this would only be done after the 1958 general election so that the United Party could state their views, and if they opposed the legislation, contest it in the election. Dr. Dinges said he saw no reason why 18-year-olds could not also stand for election to Parliament. He believed in a policy of education based on practice. In its action the Government recognized that youth could bring idealism, vigour, and enthusiasm to political life.

Last Election for Coloured Voters

The Nationalists have held the provincial council seat at Uitenhage, in Cape Province, in a by-election. A slight fall in the Nationalist majority cannot be regarded as significant; the by-election seems to have demonstrated once again how stable are present political allegiances in South Africa. This was probably the last election in which Coloured voters voted on the common roll. (*Times*, December 8, 1956.)

Priest Attacked in His Parish

African servants rescued the Rev. Horace Willson, Rector of St. Mary's, Rosettenville, a suburb of Johannesburg, after he had been

viciously attacked by a gang of white youths in his parish. The gang left the Rector hanging in a potato sack with a rope round his neck and arms. Mr. Willson, who was badly bruised from kicking and had several cracked ribs, was taken to the home of one of his parishioners. Before the attack, Mr. Willson had warned off a gang of about fifteen youths from the door of the church hall, where a young people's meeting was in progress. (*Church Times*, November 30, 1956.)

Expulsion of Jewish Rabbi

Rabbi Dr. Andre Ungar, head of the Jewish Reform Congregation in Port Elizabeth, was ordered by the Minister of the Interior to leave South Africa by January 15. No reason was given. Dr. Ungar had already planned to leave the Union at the end of January. Dr. Ungar believes he was expelled because of his attacks—in the pulpit, on public platforms and in articles—on Government racial policies. (*South Africa*, December 22, 1956.)

High Rate of Executions

The Pretoria News (December 15, 1956) commented: "The latest report of the Department of Prisons immediately available records the number of executions for 1952, 1953 and 1954. In the first two years the figures were 42 and 43 respectively. In 1954 the figure jumped to 73.

"To understand these figures they must be compared with those of other countries governed according to the Western European civilization and beliefs. In most Western European countries capital punishment has been abolished altogether. In Britain, before the present abolitionist agitation, the average number of executions a year, for a long time, was about 14. Britain has a population of the order of 50 million compared with 13 million in South Africa.

"Are these executions providing a deterrent? . . . Anyone who follows the accounts of court proceedings in the daily Press must surely doubt this, must believe, in fact, that this tremendously high number of executions fails completely to deter others. . . . What conceivable argument can be brought forward in an avowedly Christian country to justify them?"

"We believe there is none and that the system is overdue, tragically overdue, for reform. It may be that the prerogative of clemency is being exercised too infrequently, it may be that the law is too rigid in demanding the imposition of this penalty."

"Equity" and the Colour Bar

Equity, the British actors' union, is shortly to instruct its members not to sign contracts for South Africa which do not ensure that their performances can be seen by all sections of the populations there who wish to do so. This action follows a successful resolution moved at Equity's annual general meeting in June this year in the following form: "This meeting urges the Council to instruct all members of Equity not to work in any theatre in which any form of colour bar operates unless there is a clause in the contract to ensure that a definite proportion (to be decided by Equity) of the performances given under the contract shall be open to all non-Europeans or, if possible, to persons of any colour, race or creed." (*The Stage*, December 13, 1956.)

Mr. Brian Brooke, Chairman of the newly formed South African Association of Theatrical Managements, made a statement on behalf of his Association that admission to European theatres was barred to non-Europeans by law in South Africa, and so the only means of complying with Equity's decision was for British actors and actresses who gave individual performances in South Africa to

take these to the townships. It was not possible to take an entire performance out of its theatre setting.

It was not yet possible for the industry as a whole to voice its comment on Equity's decision, but in the meantime information was gathered and a meeting between the industry's representatives to decide on a course of action would be held this month. (*South Africa*, January 5, 1957.)

In a leading article, the *Johannesburg Star* (December 22, 1956) said: "Those whose interest in entertainment is to be entertained will have read with surprise of the intention of Equity, the British actors' trade union, to attempt to impose on its members a rule that they shall accept no contract to appear in theatres where segregation applies unless provision is made for a proportion of their performances to be open to non-whites. The campaign is admittedly aimed at South Africa.

"Trade unions often have their own ideas about what is their business, but this seems to be carrying interference a bit far. Equity members may have their own views about segregation, but it is something new for a company of players to demand the right to choose their audience. Any actor who feels strongly enough about the matter is free to refuse a South African contract. For him to impose his scruples on others would be intolerable."

In a letter commenting on the leading article Father Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R., Chairman of the Arts Federation of South Africa, said: "Do you, or do you not, think that education for Africans should include an introduction to the great literary masterpieces of the world? If you do, why should you wish to deny (or to endorse a policy that in fact denies) non-Europeans the opportunity to see these masterpieces on the stage? Equity's decision, in so far as it will widen those opportunities, is surely to be welcomed with enthusiasm." (*Johannesburg Star*, December 27, 1956.)

A report in *The Times* (December 21, 1956) said that according to Government sources there is no law which prevents South African entertainments promoters from admitting any race or even playing to audiences of mixed races. It is not common in South Africa for mixed audiences to attend theatre and similar shows, but this is largely a matter of custom. On the other hand, it is the general practice for non-Europeans to be allowed in to big sporting events in reserved blocks of seats. If promoters of entertainments care to make similar arrangements there appears to be no reason why Equity's requirements cannot be satisfied.

Appointment of Chief Justice

Mr. Justice H. A. Fagan has become the new Chief Justice of South Africa, in succession to Chief Justice A.v.d. S. Centlivres.

A number of Opposition-supporting papers, while expressing the greatest esteem for Mr. Justice Fagan, queried the fact that Mr. Justice Schreiner, next senior judge to the Chief Justice, had been overlooked. The *South African Sunday Express* (November 25, 1956) said: "By every rational test, there can be no disputing his claim to the high office to which his long and eminent service entitles him."

In a newspaper interview, the Hon. F. A. W. Lucas, a former judge of the Transvaal bench, observed: "The appointment of Mr. Justice Fagan as Chief Justice over the head of Mr. Justice Schreiner, his senior on the Appeal Court Bench, came as a shock to the legal profession. Had Mr. Justice Fagan been the senior and been appointed Chief Justice there could have been no ground for criticism, because he is a judge worthy of filling that position. But here, in Mr. Justice Schreiner, whom he is now superseding, we have a judge with a long, faithful service on the bench and a man who has shown

outstanding ability in expounding and developing the law, unselfish devotion in the service of his country, and the highest integrity.

"To pass him over is a scandal and an injustice. The only reason there can be for passing him over is that the Government resents his judgments which were adverse to its Coloured voters' policy."

Mr. Justice Lucas continued: "This is the latest glaring case of a good judge being passed over—there have been several others quite as bad, but to which the same prominence was not given as in this instance. By such action the Government is in effect saying to judges that if they do not do as it wishes they will be penalized. This is a direct attack on the independence of the judiciary. The Government's attitude to the Bench has gravely impaired the Bench's formerly high prestige. It is the Government's disregard for good and honest service to the country that has lost us to Rhodesia some of our best judges." (*Kenya Weekly News*, December 28, 1956.)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

U.N. Trusteeship Committee Resolutions

THE United Nations Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee has recommended that the General Assembly request the Secretary-General to "explore ways and means for a satisfactory solution of the question of South-West Africa".

The resolution (adopted by 24 votes to 10, with 20 abstentions) also requests the Secretary-General to "take whatever steps he shall deem necessary with a view to finding such a solution in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice". It further expresses the hope that the Government of the Union of South Africa "will offer to the United Nations its full co-operation".

The Committee adopted another resolution (by 29 to 3 votes with 19 abstentions) which would have the Assembly request the Committee on South-West Africa to study "what legal action is open to the organs of the United Nations, or to the members of the United Nations, or to the former members of the League of Nations, acting either individually or jointly, to ensure that the Union of South Africa fulfils the obligations assumed by it under the Mandate, pending the placing of the territory of South-West Africa under the International Trusteeship System".

Mr. Thanat Khoman (Thailand), Chairman of the Committee on South-West Africa, said that the adoption of the second resolution made clear the "failure" of the Committee on South-West Africa in one of its most important functions—to bring about a satisfactory solution of the South-West Africa question. He said that he reserved the right to propose later that the Committee examine its future existence as well as the question of its composition. (*U.N. Press Release Ga/T/548*, December 21, 1956.)

Evidence Before Committee

The Rev. Michael Scott and Mr. Eric Getzen, an inhabitant of South-West Africa, gave evidence before the Trusteeship Committee on December 10, 1956.

Mr. Scott said that he had received a further communication from Chief Hosea Kutako since the Special Committee on South-West Africa had published its report¹ which said: "We wish to express our deep appreciation of the work of the United Nations. We read your report on South-West Africa which according to our knowledge contains the truth about conditions in the country.

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

"We also wish to inform you that the Chief Native Commissioner of South-West Africa, Mr. H. J. Allen, held a meeting with the Herero Chief and Headmen in September 1956, in the Aminuis Native Reserve in which he informed us that a portion of the Aminuis Native Reserve was to be given to the European farmers and that a small part of land called Kuridora, to the south-east of Aminuis Native Reserve, was to be given to the Hereros in exchange for their land which was to be given to the Europeans. Kuridora lies between Aminuis Native Reserve and Bechuanaland Protectorate and is uninhabited.

"We said to Mr. Allen that our first Native Reserve was at Auegiaks near Windhoek, and the Government removed us from it in order to give land to the Europeans. We were then given Otjimbondona from which we were removed in order to make room for European farmers. Finally we were given Aminuis Native Reserve with the assurance that it would be our permanent home.

"We also reminded Mr. Allen that Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the South African Minister of Native Affairs, had given us assurance in the presence of Mr. Allen, during his South-West tour in August 1955 at Okakarara Native Reserve, that we would not be deprived of our present Native Reserve. We said that we would object to the removal and added that the previous removal caused much hardship and was responsible for the loss of much of our livestock and other property.

"Mr. Allen in reply said that he would write to Dr. Verwoerd and that we would be informed about the matter in about two weeks' time.

"Owing to the fact that Aminuis Native Reserve is too small for its inhabitants, we had asked the Government on a previous occasion to annex Kuridora to Aminuis Native Reserve, but the request was refused. The Government replied that it would be given to the European farmers.

"We concluded our meetings with the Chief Native Commissioner by saying to him that the Government should keep Kuridora for European farmers and we would keep our Reserve and would not exchange one for the other. . . .

"Mr. Eric Louw visited South-West Africa in September 1956 with a view to obtaining information about the conditions in this territory, but did not meet the Herero Chief and Headmen, which means that he is coming to the United Nations being unconscious of our views.

"In conclusion, we would like to state that the Union of South Africa does not want to improve the conditions of the non-European inhabitants in this territory and we therefore believe that these unfavourable conditions will always remain the same as long as we are under this Government."

Mr. Scott continued: "These statements serve to underline the fears expressed by the United Nations Committee on South-West Africa, and its emphasis upon the serious implications of the transfer of Native Affairs from the Administrator to the South African Minister of Native Affairs. . . .

"One of the most shocking features in the South-West Africa story has been the legalized expropriation of the land and wealth of the African inhabitants." He also referred to the £19 million (approximately) value of the sale of diamonds from South-West Africa in 1955 which was twice the country's total revenue for 1954. Despite an increase in production worth approximately £2 million per annum, the contribution of the diamond taxes and royalties to the revenue had decreased from 30 to 18 per cent during the period 1950-1955.

Drawing attention to the fact that in May 1956 the Consolidated Diamond Mines were reputed to have made a profit of over £13½

million for the past year, Mr. Scott commented: "The full implications of this in social and humanitarian terms are not fully drawn out in the report of the Committee which had not some of these figures available to it. But to anyone who has even visited South-West Africa, the implications are very obvious in the poverty and repression of the African people and the fabulous wealth of some of the great mining concerns. Consolidated Diamond Mines, S.W.A., profits more from the iniquitous system of political and racial relationships in South-West Africa than many of the Afrikaaner people."

"Inexorably, South-West Africa is being drawn into the pattern of South Africa's industrial economy. The familiar features are repeated. The Native Reserves are becoming more and more overcrowded. They are rural slums and as such, reservoirs of cheap native labour for mining industry and the European farmers. The growing industries are attracting impoverished migrant labourers to the towns where the locations and Native townships are overcrowded and unsanitary and become breeding grounds of vice and crime. This is the reality of the picture in terms of human life which the South-West Africa Committee, failing any opportunity to visit there, conveys only in terms of facts and figures."

Mr. Scott asked what the United Nations would do if Mr. Strijdom's Government effected "the incorporation of South-West Africa in the Union by a unilateral act". He said: "There can be little doubt that South Africa would very soon be brought to a sense of her obligations to the United Nations, if there was similarly the real prospect of sanctions being applied against her actions and if her ten years of defiance of the recommendations of the General Assembly were taken seriously as a threat to the peace, good order and racial harmony of Africa. . . ."

"The United Nations itself has tried for ten years the methods of reasoned argument and debate with South Africa. The South African Government refuses to face the charges made against it here and withdraws from the Committees entrusted with the task of dealing with these problems. . . ."

"The suggestion is made that South Africa may even withdraw completely, if the course of conscience continues to be followed here, and if steps should be taken to check the disastrous actions which have flowed from the racial arrogance of her rulers. Withdrawal, however, would not affect the possibilities of action by the United Nations within the terms of the Charter. . . ."

"Positively the United Nations could do a very great deal more than it has done (or perhaps has been allowed to do) to show the people of all races in Africa how to lay the foundations of a more serviceable civilization than they have there at present; and one in which the objective impartiality of proper judicial systems could be established above party political strife and racial prejudices."

"A conference is needed in Africa in which all the constructive work which the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations is doing in so many necessary fields and in so many different countries could be shown to the peoples of Africa. . . . In this way petty resentment or suspicion of the organs of the United Nations may be overcome and be replaced by a willingness to accept the help which the peoples of the world will generously offer to those not too proud to acknowledge their need of it."

Mr. Eric Getzen, who is now studying at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, described himself as "a native son of South-West Africa". He said that before leaving South-West Africa he was made to understand that he was going to a "Communist country, America, which was more or less believed to be founded on the principles of racial equality", and that on his return he was not to preach the

doctrine of equality. "In South African sense," he said, "any country which believes in the equality of mankind is regarded as a Communist State; therefore, those who preach this ideology are liable to the charge of being Communists."

Secondly, he said, he was forbidden to inform the people of America and elsewhere about the "maltreatment of my people by the South African Government". And, further, he was forced to change his name and Herero nationality and declare officially that he was a "Cape Mulatto". It was on these conditions that he was granted a passport.

Mr. Getzen recalled that, after World War I, the League of Nations "declared our land a mandate, and handed us over, without our consent, to the Union of South Africa as a sacred trust of civilization". The Union Government "wasted no time", but immediately began to hand over to Boer settlers land then occupied by Africans.

The situation, he said, had become "even worse" since the founding of the United Nations. Despite the efforts of the United Nations, the Union Government "has totally failed and will continue to fail in all respects of her administration to improve the conditions in South-West Africa and to promote the advancement of the indigenous people". In fact, the Union Government was seeking by all means to incorporate the mandate into the Union.

The policy of the administration, the petitioner said, was to take away African land and means of livelihood, denying them a voice in the Government, preventing their social and cultural development, and applying brute force. Africans, except those working for Europeans, he charged, "are herded into concentration camps known in South African terminology as 'native reserves'".

Moreover, "colour-bar restrictive regulations in vogue in the Union of South Africa" had been introduced in South-West Africa for the control of African labour. He cited the identification and travelling pass, night pass, lodge pass, day labour pass, a six-day special pass, location visitor's pass, trek pass and an exemption pass.

Mr. Getzen charged that the Union Government "has been able to transform my country into a slaveyard". He said that in the name of freedom and democracy he would continue to challenge the Union Government's integrity. If what he had said jeopardized his position and his studies in the United States, he added, "then I can do no more than throw myself into the protection of the United Nations, and the United States Government, as well as the governments represented here".

The Pretoria News (December 13, 1956) in an editorial said: "It may have come as a shock to many South Africans to read reports of discussions on South-West Africa in the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. The fact that some nations might be prepared to press for the imposition of economic sanctions against this country is something that cannot be ignored. At the same time, in the present context, there appears little reason for alarm."

"Firstly it must be remembered that the Trusteeship Committee had just been listening to emotional and highly coloured reports presented by the Rev. Michael Scott and Mr. E. M. Getzen, a Herero student presently attending a U.S.A. university. . . . Secondly is the key place the Union occupies in both the overall defensive strategy and the economy of the West. In the 1939-1945 War and in the present Suez crisis, for example, the sea route round the Cape has proved of vital importance. It might well do so again. Then, too, as both exporter and importer of goods, materials and services the Union continues to make a big contribution to the prosperity of millions of people in lands far removed from her own borders."

"These are some of the realities which other nations, more influential than the Philippines, will take into account before words are ever translated into deeds. In the circumstances of today sanctions on South Africa cannot surely be considered practical international politics."

Unification the Ultimate Aim

The Administrator, Mr. D. Viljoen, opening a new bridge at Vioolsdrift which shortens the distance between the territory and Cape Town, said that a network of good roads is as necessary to defence as it is to national economy and personal safety.

Mr. Viljoen said that he hoped that this bridge between the Union and South-West would be a lasting monument and that there would be an "interchange" of thoughts and ideas which unite human beings. He said: "We express the hope that this bridge which serves the purpose of connecting two provinces, will symbolize that other bridge to lasting co-operation—and ultimate unification to the good of us all." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 30, 1956.)

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Basutoland

Attitudes to the Resident Commissioner

WHEN the 52nd Session of the Basutoland Council opened on September 29, 1956, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, the new Resident Commissioner,¹ a South African, said in his opening speech: "... I would like to inform you that it has long been my hope that I would be given an opportunity at some stage in my career to return to Basutoland to serve Her Majesty's Government and the Basotho people here. I have no illusions about the difficult task ahead of us, but I wish to give you my assurance that your interests and your welfare will ever be my concern, and with your help and co-operation I hope and pray that we may achieve progress during my tour as your Resident Commissioner."

An editorial in *Mohlabani* (December 1956) said: "We propose to examine the words quoted above and compare them with the spirit Mr. Chaplin showed during the recent session of the Basutoland Council, for the best way of judging a man's sincerity is not so much by the fine words he glibly uses, but by his actions." The editorial stated that it had become "abundantly clear" that "the new Resident Commissioner appeared to evince the spirit of arrogance that is so characteristic of most Europeans from the Union."

"When Councillors discussed the Secretary of State's reply to their motion asking for a legislature," Cr. Khotso Moroka of Maseru pointed out that the people were not impressed by the reply, because it showed clearly that it reflected the views of Mr. E. P. Arrowsmith, the past Resident Commissioner. Cr. Moroka went further to state that Mr. Arrowsmith had favoured the Mafeteng motion which had asked for a legislature that would make laws affecting the Basotho alone, and that in spite of the fact that that motion had been rejected by the Council the Secretary of State had granted the Basotho exactly what that motion had asked for.

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

²DIGEST IV, 1.

"It was at this stage that Mr. Chaplin lost his temper to the surprise of all present." He ordered Cr. Moroka to sit down, because he had alleged that the previous Resident Commissioner had sent to the Secretary of State the motion which had been rejected and withheld the one which had been passed. The editorial continued: "Even an imbecile can realize that Cr. Moroka could never have said that, because the Secretary of State's letter, a copy of which was in the hands of every Councillor, had actually quoted Motion No. 90 in full, indicating thereby that it had been sent to him, for had it not been sent one fails to see how he could have quoted it. . . ."

"After Council had discussed the Secretary of State's letter for three days, Mr. Chaplin brought a motion to Council which, he stated, had been drafted by the Paramount Chief and himself, purporting to embrace all the sentiments expressed by Councillors."

The Paramount Chief's representative told the Council that the Paramount Chief had had no hand in drafting the motion; all that had been done was to show it to her in draft form before it was presented to the Council.

The editorial concluded by calling on Mr. Chaplin to recognize that the Basotho do not want him in their territory and they fear him "because he is a South African".

The General Secretary of the Basutoland Progressive Association, in a letter to *Mohlabani* (December 1956) said: "The Paramount Chief's representative explained to Council that the Paramount Chief had had no hand in drafting the motion; all that had been done was to show it to her in draft form before it was presented to Council. It then began to dawn on Councillors that the motion was Mr. Chaplin's own creation, and that the apparent aim was to use the Paramount Chief as an instrument to force Councillors into accepting a motion which did not express their feelings. This is indeed something to be greatly deplored."

The President of the Association has denied that this letter expresses the views of his Executive and has stated he was not consulted about it.

Bechuanaland

Development in 1955

ACCORDING to the Annual Report for 1955 recently published by H.M. Stationery Office,¹ "the year was notable for the interest shown in the mineral resources of the Protectorate by prominent mining houses". The Report stated: "If the Protectorate is to develop and become an economically viable state, it is essential that mineral development should be brought about and that the country should be weaned from its present total dependence on the cattle industry. At present the Protectorate is known to contain copper, coal, salt, asbestos and gold. . . ."

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, which recruits Africans to work in the Rand Gold Mines in South Africa, expanded its activities. At the end of the year there were eight Dakota aircraft based at Francistown and employed in flying recruits and repatriates to and from the Protectorate.

The Report states that about 21,000 men left the territory as migrant labourers. Of these 19,361 went on contract to the Union mines. Recruitment of labour for the mines is strictly controlled. The usual contract period is nine months, after which most recruits return home. Many return to the mines for second and third periods.

There were fifteen Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes

¹Price 5s.

in operation during the year. The total grant approved for these schemes was £1,122,907, of which £850,824 had been spent at the close of the financial year, on March 31, 1955.

The Colonial Development Corporation Abattoir at Lobatsi dealt with 67,027 head of cattle. The meat was exported to the Union, Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

A Court of Appeal for the High Commission Territories, which was established in April 1955, enables litigants to appeal locally against High Court decisions instead of having to appeal direct to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

WEST AFRICA The Gold Coast

Ghana Independence

THE Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (Lord John Hope) in introducing the second reading of the Ghana Independence Bill said: "On March 6 yet another stage will have been achieved in the journey of this great Commonwealth of Nations towards its destiny. We are confident that the leaders and people of the Gold Coast will rise to the opportunities which lie before them, in full awareness of the responsibilities which they are now to shoulder. We pledge to them our friendship and our support. We wish them well."

He said: "The introduction of the Bill marks the last stage in a process which started over a century ago. Up to the early part of the nineteenth century, English trade with the Gold Coast was conducted by a series of companies chartered by the King or set up by Acts of Parliament. From 1806 until 1900 there occurred the Ashanti wars, and it was during this period that the government of the settlements in the Gold Coast was vested in various ways in the Crown. After the last Ashanti war Britain assumed full responsibility for the government of the Gold Coast and its hinterland, and, in 1901, Orders in-Council were made regularizing the situation and bringing together into one unit the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

"The first step towards self-government may be said to have been taken in 1925. A new Constitution was made which reconstituted the Legislative Council so as to include elected members. The Council retained an *ex officio* majority and its authority was limited to the Colony. In 1946, a further advance was made when a second constitutional change introduced a non-official majority for the first time in an African colonial legislature. Representation was broadened to include Ashanti and subsequently Southern Togoland. In 1951, the third and most fundamental constitutional change was made when a large degree of internal self-government was granted.

"The 1951 Constitution set up an Executive Council consisting of three *ex officio* members and eight representative Ministers approved by the Legislative Assembly on the recommendation of the Governor. The authority of the Legislative Assembly was extended to cover the whole of the country, including the Northern Territories and the whole of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom administration. Its membership was increased to 84, of whom 75 were elected by various forms of popular franchise to represent the chiefs and peoples. Provision was made for each Minister to be responsible for a number of Government Departments.

"Early in 1952 the Constitution was further amended to provide for the appointment of a Prime Minister. Dr. Nkrumah was the first to hold this office. In 1954, a Constitution was introduced which granted virtually full internal self-government. It provided for a Legislative Assembly of 104 members chosen by direct election on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The posts of three *ex officio* Ministers in the previous Constitution were abolished, and the Cabinet, consisting of not fewer than eight members of the Assembly appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, became the principal instrument of policy. Responsibility for defence, external affairs, and certain matters concerned with the police were specifically reserved to the Governor, acting in his discretion, while he also retained general reserved powers.

"The 1954 Constitution marked the last stage before the assumption by the Gold Coast of full responsibility for its own affairs."

Mr. James Griffiths (Labour) expressing the Opposition's "fullest support" for the Bill said: "I join in sending to the Prime Minister, to the Government, to the Opposition—for the members of the Opposition have a part to play, which I hope they will play with a true sense of responsibility—and to all the people of Ghana, a message that we look forward to 6th March not only as the day on which they will become independent within a democracy, but the day on which they will join as equal partners in the Commonwealth of Nations."

Mr. Clement Davies (Liberal) said: "The eyes of all Africans will be upon this new independent country, watching the way in which it develops." They were taking a remarkable step, "because it starts what I am convinced is a new era in Africa".

Winding up the debate, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that he thought it best, with regard to the independence of the Civil Service and the judiciary, and the position of the Attorney-General, that "except for the Chief Justice and a few of the most senior Civil Service posts, the final authority after independence should lie with the respective Commissions, the Public Service Commission and the Judicial Service Commission. I very much hope that this view will be shared on reflection by the Government of the Gold Coast. . . .

"As to the Attorney-General, the Gold Coast Government have agreed that his should remain an official appointment, at least as long as the present British Attorney-General holds the office, instead of becoming a political appointment. It certainly is my view that this is very wise indeed in a country which is embarking on this great experiment without being sure—as we are broadly, though our debates may sometimes suggest something else—of mutual confidence between the political parties. I am very glad that the Government of the Gold Coast have taken that view."

He concluded: "I should not like the debate to end on a note of suspicion and uncertainty. . . . I am myself a believer in this great experiment. It is an experiment, but it will be helped if we enter into it, without shutting our eyes, but in high hopes that this great and romantic conception will justify the faith which so many people have put into bringing it about." (*Hansard*, December 11, 1956.)

Debate in the Gold Coast

The Gold Coast Government decided to recommend the British Government to base the Order-in-Council granting independence to the country upon the recent White Paper containing the revised constitutional proposals¹ as approved by the Legislative Assembly.

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

During the debate on the White Paper there was not a single division on any of the articles embodying the Government proposals. Note was also taken that the Government proposals were endorsed by over two-thirds of the total Assembly membership—70 to 25. In spite of overwhelming support for the Government proposals its Parliamentary Opposition still held its view that no agreement was reached on the Constitution.

Rejecting this, the Government statement said that the universal democratic practice was that where negotiations failed to bring about complete agreement on an issue, the decision of the majority should be accepted. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 17, 1956.)

Demands for Secession

Both before and after the debates on the Ghana Independence Bill in the House of Commons, the Opposition elements in the Gold Coast made representation to the Colonial Secretary. In November, the National Liberation Movement and the Northern People's Party demanded separate independence for Ashanti and the Northern Territories, and a partition commission to divide the assets and liabilities of the Gold Coast among its four component territories.

The Asanteman Council decided that since agreement could not be reached on the constitution, the Secretary of State for the Colonies should be asked to grant independence to Ashanti and the Northern Territories. (*The Times*, November 21, 1956.)

The N.L.M. sent a 10-point resolution which asked that Ashanti and the Northern Territories seek union on the basis of equality; that the Queen be head of the new State which would be a member of the Commonwealth; that the Queen appoint a Governor-General; that all civil servants—both overseas and African—retain their present posts and pension rights in Ashanti and the North; that pending final withdrawal of British control an interim government be established for Ashanti and the Northern Territories; that interim legislature of Ashanti be composed of present Ashanti Assemblymen; that an interim Finance Board be created to control the finance of the Union of Ashanti and Northern Territories; that the interim government establish interim statutory boards; that foreign investment and legitimate trade in Ashanti and the North be protected; and that the Secretary of State appoint "as a matter of urgency" a Partition Commission "to divide assets and liabilities of the Gold Coast among component territories".

Mr. Joe Appiah, an executive member of the N.L.M., told an Opposition rally in Kumasi that his party had briefed lawyers to apply to the United Nations for membership for Ashanti and the Northern Territories. (*West Africa*, December 1, 1956.)

During the House of Commons Debate on the first reading of the Bill, the British reply to these requests was made. "Her Majesty's Government do not consider that the partition of the Gold Coast is in the interests of the Gold Coast as a whole or of any of its component parts, and cannot abandon their established policy which is directed towards the grant of independence to the Gold Coast as a whole. . . . The grant of independence to the Gold Coast is an act of goodwill which Her Majesty's Government trust will be received by the people of the Gold Coast in a spirit of responsibility which will command the respect of the world." (*Hansard*, December 11, 1956.)

Colin Legum, writing in *The Observer* (December 9, 1956), commented: "Short of a last-minute miracle, it now seems certain that the Ashanti will try to secede and set up a separate State from Ghana. . . . This attempt at secession must have serious reper-

cussions. It could result in civil war between Ashanti and Ghana, or, what is more likely, produce civil war within Ashanti itself, for the Ashanti are not united—for many reasons. But even if civil war can be avoided, it will nevertheless produce an extremely awkward situation. . . .

"The Asanteman Council—the tribal organization of chiefs—bases its opposition on the grounds that Ghana's constitution fails to provide adequate safeguards for the separate identity of the Ashanti nation of about one million. It fears that its traditional system of tribal organization will be exposed to domination by politicians in Accra and that democracy is unsafe in the hands of Dr. Nkrumah. . . .

"So far as can be discovered, after Ghana's Independence Act is passed, the Ashanti will make a formal declaration of their own independence, set up their own Government, swear allegiance to the British Crown and ask for British recognition of the Ashanti State. Negotiations will then be proposed with Ghana to agree on terms for peaceful co-existence. The Ashanti recognize that their secession would paralyse the economy of Ghana. . . .

"The Government feels that the Ashanti trouble comes from the old chiefs, who are having their last kick against democratic government. But some observers feel that this is much too glib a view of the situation. Most young Ashanti intellectuals are helping to lead the secession movement. . . . Yet despite their anxieties and difficulties, none of the Gold Coast leaders wishes independence to be postponed. The feeling on both sides is that they want to come to grips with the problems of independence in their own way, the sooner the better."

Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Opposition, speaking in London said "that the secession movement within the Ashanti, with which he did not agree, was extremely strong. It lay with the Colonial Secretary to strengthen the hands of those who were trying to be moderate." He also spoke of the "grim possibilities of any attempt to ignore the strength of feeling that exists". (*Manchester Guardian*, December 11, 1956.)

Subsequently, the Asanteman Council, at an emergency meeting in Kumasi, sent a declaration to the U.K. Government in which it stated that "for the purpose of helping to reach agreement on the constitution before independence the Asanteman Council would welcome a visit to this country either by the Colonial Secretary or by a Parliamentary Committee". . . . The Asanteman Council's declaration, signed by the Asantehene, stated that the Gold Coast Government's revised constitutional proposals were "completely unacceptable to Ashanti" and the policy to grant independence to the Gold Coast as a whole could be achieved only if constitutional changes being prepared by the U.K. Government provided adequate safeguards and guaranteed territorial autonomy. The minimum safeguards should include the following: the central legislature should consist of two Houses, the Upper House consisting of Chiefs and elder statesmen equally representing the four Regions; one territorial House of Chiefs should be established in Ashanti; the Territorial Assembly should have full legislative, financial and executive powers over subjects assigned to it by the constitution; the Territorial House of Chiefs should be responsible for local constitutional, traditional, and customary matters; constitutional amendments should be passed only if accepted by a two-thirds majority of the central legislature and also by a two-thirds majority of the territorial legislatures; the police should be controlled regionally; there should be equal territorial representation on public boards and statutory corporations and appointments to them should be made by Territorial Assemblies; the independence of judiciary and of the

Civil Service should be secured; and a Council of State should be established to advise the Governor-General on appointments to the Public Service Commission and on the recommendation of Judiciary Service Commission of Judges. The Council of State, concluded the declaration, should also be responsible as a final tribunal for local constitutional disputes. (*West Africa*, December 29, 1956.)

The N.L.M. also issued a statement repeating their demands.

It said: "We must emphasize that the Gold Coast is composed of four separate and distinct territories. The only reason which her Majesty's Government give for refusing to partition the country at independence is that it will not be in the interests of the country as a whole or of any of its component parts. We are quite aware of the benefits which Ashanti and the Northern Territories derive from our association with the Gold Coast Colony. However, we consider that the best interests of the country as a whole would be served by a constitution which secures autonomy for the component territories."

Colonial Secretary's Visit

Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd will visit the Gold Coast between January 20 and 26 on his way back to Britain from his tour of the Central African Federation. (*Daily Telegraph*, January 8, 1957.)

Educational Problems

Mr. David Balme, Principal of the University College of the Gold Coast, said that though "the output from secondary school sixth forms had improved steadily in the eight years he had observed it, lower down the scale there was serious trouble. Pupils took far too long to get through school certificate; every headmaster told him that the standard of entrants from middle or primary schools was deteriorating; and employers agreed that there was a deterioration in the ability of boys who, unsuccessful in entering sixth forms, came to seek work as clerks, typists, etc."

"Mr. Balme suggested that the trouble lay in the quality of teaching. If there was no improvement the outlook was gloomy, since the products of middle schools would have to run the country's 'machine' for a long time—and be the influential part of the electorate. He urged a change in the public attitude towards the teaching profession. . . .

"Dr. W. E. Duncanson, Principal of Kumasi College of Technology, said that while his College could admit forty or even sixty students for the Engineering Degree course, he doubted that even twenty were available. The main educational problem, as he saw it, was shortage of graduate teachers to expand secondary education. Reluctantly he suggested that the only way of breaking the vicious circle—too few graduate teachers, too few sixth formers, too few university candidates, too few graduate teachers—was to employ expatriates for a limited period." (*West Africa*, December 29, 1956.)

British Togoland

Union with Ghana

THE U.N. General Assembly has voted by 64 votes to nil with 9 abstentions in favour of union between British Togoland and an independent Gold Coast. The 1946 Trusteeship Agreement will cease to be in force from the date on which the Gold Coast attains independence—March 6, 1957. (*U.N. Information Service*, December 13, 1956.)

This decision was taken in accordance with the wishes of the

majority of the Togoland people as expressed in the plebiscite¹ of May 1956.

The *Daily Telegraph* (January 2, 1957) reported that unofficial sources in the Gold Coast disclosed that the Government was planning to put before the United Nations a request that the people of French-administered Togoland should be given an opportunity to decide for themselves whether to follow their brothers in British-administered Togoland in joining Ghana or remain within the French Union.

Nigeria

Constitutional Conference

THE Colonial Office has announced that the conference on the Constitution, which had to be postponed from September, 1956, because of the tribunal of inquiry, will now be convened in London in May if possible, and in any event not later than mid-June. This time-table has been agreed by all five Governments in the Federation following suggestions made to them by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a message to the Governments Mr. Lennox-Boyd proposed that, so far as it was legally possible, steps should be taken to give effect, by a date not later than one month from the conclusion of the forthcoming conference, to all arrangements for the introduction of regional self-government which may be finally agreed at the conference. (*The Times*, January 4, 1957.)

The public sittings of the tribunal which was investigating the affairs of the African Continental Bank ended on November 16, 1956.

Help from UNICEF

Continued support for national campaigns against yaws and leprosy in the Federation of Nigeria is assured by new allocations totalling \$170,000 voted by UNICEF. This allocation will enable the Nigerian Government to care for 200,000 people in the Eastern and Northern regions, and it is expected that in 1957 and 1958 some 47,000 former lepers will be discharged as free of the symptoms of the disease. Aided by previous UNICEF allocations totalling \$124,000, the current leprosy control campaign has succeeded in providing regular treatment for over 115,000 lepers since 1954. (*News from Nigeria*, November 17, 1956.)

Commission of Inquiry Rejected

The Western Region House of Assembly rejected an Opposition motion calling for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the activities of the Regional Government, which was accused of maladministration and corruption, specific reference being made to the deposit of Government funds in the African-controlled National Bank of Nigeria with a view, it was alleged, to the granting of overdraft and loans facilities for leaders of the Action Group. The Premier, Mr. Awolowo, was also accused of being a director and of receiving fees in two companies.

Replying for the Government, Mr. Awolowo denied that he ever received director's fees and that either he or his ministerial colleagues held directorships or were shareholders in the companies named. He also declared that neither he nor his colleagues had any loans or overdrafts from the National Bank, that the relationship of the Regional Government with the bank was purely that of a cus-

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

torner and that the terms of the transaction were fully known to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (*The Times*, December 27, 1956.)

Eastern Region Governor

His Excellency, Sir Robert Stapledon, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., was sworn in as Governor of the Eastern Region in the House of Assembly, by the Chief Justice on December 14. During the ceremony the Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, presented an address of welcome. (*News from Nigeria*, December 15, 1956.)

Oil Prospects for 1957

It is hoped that by the end of 1947 the Eastern Region of Nigeria may be proved to be a rich source of oil supply. This will depend on the results of test production trials which are to be carried out next summer at Oloibiri in Eastern Nigeria.

Equipment for these trials is being provided at a cost of £250,000. If they prove successful, commercial production will be embarked upon with equipment and facilities which will cost over £5 million. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, December 12, 1956.)

The Northern Region Elections¹

The final state of parties in the new House of Assembly is: Northern People's Congress 106; United Middle Belt Congress 11; Northern Elements Progressive Union-Bornu Youth Movement Alliance 8; Action Group 4; and Independents 2.

The N.P.C.'s success was conspicuous in the "direct-election, secret-ballot" urban constituencies. They won all four Kano seats, the two in Sokoto, and the seats in Katsina Town, Nguru, Bida and Gusau. NEPU won in Jos, Kaduna, Zaria, and Kaura Namoda, in some of which at least Southern votes play a big part.

West Africa (December 1, 1956) in congratulating the Sardauna of Sokoto on his Party's success said: "For the N.P.C. itself such an overwhelming victory is a heavy responsibility. Its leaders must remember that in spite of their strength in the House the 'direct-election results' show that their hold in the country is not unshakeable. To prepare the North for self-government in 1959, the policy to which the party is committed is an immense task; the party itself is one of the institutions which needs thorough reform in preparation for that event. It is clear that its Members in the House, of whom well over half are new, will require much education."

Sierra Leone

Proposals of Cox Commission

THE report of the Cox Commission¹ stated: "We have found . . . a degree of demoralization among the people in their customary institutions and in their approach to the statutory duties with which they have been entrusted which has shocked us. Dishonesty has become accepted as a normal ingredient of life to such an extent that no one has been concerned to fight it or even complain about it. . . . There has developed such a lack of confidence in others, such a mistrust of authority, that the restoration of self-respect and of some belief even in the possibility of integrity will be hard to achieve."

Although the troubles began over tax assessment, "the example of resistance, however, was quickly followed in other chiefdoms and it

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

became increasingly clear that the bitterest resentment was not against increases in lawful taxation, but against the great and growing burden of illegal extortion by chiefs and native clerks. There were complaints of unfair tax assessment, taking of bribes, collecting fees and fines for a remarkable number of purposes, and exaction of forced labour. In some cases, however, it was not easy, especially for unlettered people, to separate legal from illegal exactions." The abolition of the Court Messenger Service, the small numbers of police and the restrictions on their powers and duties have all served to weaken the effectiveness of district commissioners. The Cox Commission recommended that each district office should have at least six executive officers with suitable personal characteristics and of as high an educational standard as possible, to maintain day-to-day contacts with the chiefs and chiefdoms and make a particular point of explaining Government policies.

The Commission also recommended that district commissioners should in no circumstances be members of district councils and that it should be clear that they have the full support of the Government as its principal agents in the field. That a low head-tax should be retained, responsibility for payment being on the individual (not, as in former times, on the chief), and that some form of local rating should also be imposed on those with higher incomes. That chiefs should keep aside from party politics and that they should not be extensively used for duties outside their chiefdoms, to which their first duty should be owed; that they should avoid being in commercial relations with other people; that their emoluments should be strictly controlled; that they should cease to have any right to forced labour, and that no chiefdom funds should be spent on building houses for them unless the building was to remain chiefdom property. The Commission affirmed its belief that for years to come the two offices of chief and district commissioner must be maintained as essential to the administration of the country. . . .

The Government has declared its acceptance of much of the report and has issued orders to put some of its recommendations into immediate effect. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 6, 1956.)

Possibilities of Advance

Outlining the background to and the proposals for constitutional reform Mr. G. Padmore said that Sierra Leone had been "overtaken and surpassed by the Gold Coast and Nigeria in economic, political and social advancement. Unfortunately up to now, too many of the ablest young Sierra Leonians who have had the advantage of education in Britain and America have on their return home isolated themselves from the people and have failed to provide their communities with the constructive leadership which is badly needed. Unlike the African intellectuals in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the educated élite in Sierra Leone have either turned their backs upon the people or sought safe and comfortable jobs in Government service or confined themselves to money-making in the learned professions. Consequently, there is a complete absence of disinterested leadership and direction in public life and politics has become the happy hunting ground of scallywags. . . .

"The future unity and progress of Sierra Leone will, in large measure, depend upon the extent to which able and progressive young Creoles, untainted by 'aristocratic exclusiveness', become leaders of the new national awakening. For they alone can create the *modus vivendi* to bridge the present gulf between the emergent people of the Protectorate and the old established Westernized Creole community in the Colony area." (*The African and Colonial World*, January 1957.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Belgian Congo

Economic Analysis

THE annual report *Situation Economique du Congo Belge*, published by the Belgian Colonial Office, makes the following points:

"The Congo is an immense territory, very rich in natural resources. Over the years there has been considerable investment—mostly from Belgium—and its resources have probably been developed more consistently and to a far greater extent than those of any other African territory. . . .

"There is, of course, a great deal of subsistence agriculture in the Congo, though every year there are important advances in the 'commercial' production of basic foodstuffs such as maize, rice, or sweet potatoes. Cash crop production is widespread and varied. After Nigeria, the Congo is the world's biggest producer of palm oil."

Other cash crops include cotton, rubber, groundnuts and, on a smaller scale, cocoa, tea, sugar and industrial fibres.

The basis of its wealth is mineral resources. It is the world's fourth biggest copper producer, and leads the world as a producer of industrial diamonds, for which "the sole concessionaire is Forminière, a member of the de Beers group. Gold, zinc, cobalt, manganese, and iron ore are some of the other valuable minerals of which the Congo has extensive reserves, and which are being exploited on an increasing scale. There is too, of course, uranium."

Secondary industries have been encouraged by the Belgian Colonial Office. *West Africa* (December 8, 1956) after outlining the report said: "The big question-mark is whether those same officials will recognize the need for political advance before it is too late."

Nationalism in Belgian Congo

A correspondent in *The Times* (December 5, 1956) commented on the manifesto issued by *Conscience Africaine*¹ which received both support and criticism. He went on: "A new attempt is now being made to forge a National Congolese Movement, non-racialist, free of Belgian political influences. A general programme is being worked on. This includes the substitution of election for nomination in the choice of African Council members, the adaptation of the tribal system in a way that will preserve local interests without sacrificing co-operation on questions which concern the whole community, encouragement of external investment and preservation and restoration of African culture. The group concerned with this programme consists of educated Africans resident in Leopoldville but drawn from a great variety of tribes. They include writers, traders, and those interested in trade unionism, over which a struggle for recognition is now in progress. . . .

"One rather serious aspect of African sentiment is the almost universal opposition to the policy by which 'assimilated' Africans are given special rights and privileges intended to create an *élite* class on an equal footing with Europeans, and certainly separated from the mass of tribal Africans. Congolese are not applying for special status in any numbers. A similar policy is also at the base of

much French and Portuguese practice, and its breakdown would certainly be a matter of major moment. . . .

"To say that a country-wide nationalist movement will develop immediately in the Congo would be to go too far. The groups at work in Leopoldville—a city of 300,000 inhabitants—are, however, in touch with Africans in other parts of the Congo with a view to ensuring that their proposals are a proper expression of the general feeling. A particular feature of this Congolese nationalism which has its counterpart in other parts of Africa, French and British, is the emphasis on African personality and the desire to get away from total assimilation with Western civilization."

French Africa

Municipal Elections

MUNICIPAL elections took place throughout French Colonial Africa. From Senegal to Madagascar some 750,000 voters in 41 towns, for the first time, elected their own local councils under universal suffrage, and in a single electoral college where Africans and Europeans voted together. . . .

In French West Africa the African vote was 80 per cent; in French Equatorial Africa it was 65 to 70 per cent. . . . The elections represented a victory in most districts for the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, the large African party of moderate Socialist tendency, which is led in the French National Assembly by M. Houphouët-Boigny,¹ a member of the Government.

The R.D.A. was particularly successful in Soudan (where it gained 111 seats against the 34 won by its rivals), in French Guinea (94 seats against 15), in the Côte d'Ivoire, Niger and Chad. Parties allied to it did well in Dahomey and Upper Volta. At Dakar, the Socialist Party won 21 seats against 16 for the Senegal Democratic block, led by M. Leopold Senghor. At Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, the two most important towns of French Equatorial Africa, the Socialists and R.D.A. alike were defeated by an independent party based on tribal interests led by the Abbé Fulbert. (*The Times*, November 20, 1956.)

InterAfrique Presse, December 14, 1956, commented: "They are somewhat comparable historically with the results obtained by the British in the Gold Coast in 1951, when Dr. Nkrumah, nationalist leader, was asked to form the first African government. From then on, the anti-British movement which developed in the Gold Coast in the preceding years changed on the contrary into a pro-British movement, conscious of the fact that the future of the Gold Coast would from then on be written within the British Commonwealth. . . ."

Sahara Development Plan

The French Parliament has approved the Government project for reorganizing the Sahara into a single economic unit. The Common Organization for the Sahara Regions (O.C.R.S.) will have economic and military functions but not political and administrative ones. . . . The new economic unit will include Southern Algeria—nearly nine-tenths of the country—and the northern parts of French Soudan, Niger and Chad. Its authority would thus extend to the borders of Northern Nigeria.

In this area French surveyors have in recent years found uranium, coal, manganese, iron and oil.

It was estimated that £400 million would be needed for development. M. Senghor, the deputy from Senegal who leads the Bloc

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

¹DIGEST IV, 3.

Populaire Sénégalais, expressed much hostility. On the other hand, M. Houphouët-Boigny,¹ one of the African Ministers in M. Mollet's Cabinet, hoped that the Sahara would eventually be set up as a single French colony. (*West Africa*, December 29, 1956, and January 5, 1957.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 29, 1956), commented: "Three problems face the French Government: to retain political control of an area that straddles parts of Algeria, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa; to preserve connecting links across Algeria, Morocco, and Libya along which supplies can flow; and to persuade other European countries to share in financing the operation. . . . There are signs that M. Mollet's Government is beginning to think of what fresh political concessions can be offered."

French Togoland

Reactions in Trusteeship Council

THE Trusteeship Council did not approve the moves made by France² concerning the referendum of October 28, 1956, and the integration of the Autonomous Republic into the French Union. (*InterAfrique Presse*, December 21, 1956.)

A resolution was passed, appointing a U.N. Mission to go to Togoland and report to the next General Assembly on its conclusions. The Mission will be composed of representatives of Canada, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, United States and Thailand.

During the debate M. Houphouët-Boigny, who represented France, said: "I cannot sufficiently stress the possibilities for evolution inserted into the statute at the demand of the Territorial Assembly of Togoland. . . . This statute is not an end in itself, but a step, a great step, a step full of promise. . . ."

"What is important, and what we must ourselves decide, is to know whether at the present moment in the development of Negro Africa the best interest of Negro Africa is to be found within the framework of absolute independence, or rather within a larger framework.

"We Africans, of French culture, follow with much interest and sympathy the audacious experiment of our English-speaking brothers. Yes, Kwame Nkrumah and the leaders of Nigeria and Sierra Leone have our affectionate sympathy. They want to show what the Negroes of Africa can realize on their own initiative. Their experiment cannot leave us indifferent. But we want, in a spirit of healthy imitation, to make our own experiment. The future will decide between us." (*The Abidjan La Concorde*, January 10, 1957.)

L'Etudiant Afrique Noire (November-December), organ of F.E.A.N.F., the Africa students' association in France, was seized by the police in Toulouse, where it is printed. It criticized the work of M. Houphouët-Boigny since his assumption of French ministerial powers, and rebuked him for "approving and countersigning the text creating the phantom Autonomous Republic of Togoland, since such an initiative tends to consecrate definitely the division of the Togolese people and to refuse them (despite the directives of the United Nations) the normal exercise of their sovereignty".

Call for New Plebiscite

The Finance Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr. Gbedemah, speaking in Accra, called for the holding of a plebiscite in French Togoland

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

²DIGEST IV, 3.

soon after March to allow the people of that territory to decide whether they wish to join the new State of Ghana or remain within the French Union. . . . He added that such a plebiscite should be supervised by the United Nations. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 2, 1957.)

R. B. Davison writing in *West Africa* (January 5, 1957) said there were two "extreme positions which Ghana could adopt. Ghana could, if she wished, raise the banner of Pan-Africanism and make a determined propaganda assault on French power in West Africa. . . . Or she might, from the outset, make it clear that, while she believes that all European power should be withdrawn from West Africa ultimately, she is prepared to leave the timing and the operation of African nationalism to the Africans living in French territory."

The same paper commented that Mr. Gbedemah's speech might foreshadow a *rapprochement* with the Ewe leader and opponent of the French in Togoland, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio. Mr. Olympio was "ready to accept C.P.P. help for his final objective, reunion of the Ewes, if necessary inside Ghana".

The French Cameroons

Elections on Common Roll

FOR the first time elections to the Territorial Assembly were held on a common roll with universal suffrage. Over 50 per cent of the electorate, which totals 1½ millions, voted. Over 50 out of the new Assembly's 70 councillors are moderates who favour the status of a self-governing republic within the French Union. (*The Times*, January 3, 1957, and *West Africa*, January 5, 1957.)

INDIA & AFRICA

Prime Minister Addresses Students

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU, addressing the Association of African Students in India, said in New Delhi it was his conviction that the countries of Africa struggling for national liberation would be free "not in the distant future but in the very near future".

He said, "Some of the countries of Africa have achieved freedom, but they have other problems to face. Others are still involved in the struggle for liberation. Many of you who have come here will have to shoulder all kinds of responsibilities. I think it is inevitable that these countries must attain their freedom. After that it will be for the likes of you to shoulder the burden of freedom. It is a very heavy burden. Therefore you must fit yourself even now to shoulder those responsibilities."

The Prime Minister expressed the hope that people and students of India would also learn more about the peoples of Africa. The Department of African Studies at Delhi University would, he hoped, continue to get eminent professors and scholars from Africa to visit various universities and other institutions in India. (*India News*, October 20, 1956.)

Indians Urged to Non-Violent Resistance

Indian National Congress President Mr. U. N. Dhebar urged the South African Indian Congress not to submit or surrender to the "racial tyranny" of the South African Government but to resist it "with all your might". "But your weapon should always be the weapon of non-violence, the efficacy of which has been more than tested in our own struggle for independence."

Mr. Dhebar continued: "Need I emphasize that during your struggle against racialism, as also ever afterwards, unity should be your watchword—unity not only among yourselves but also with your African brethren and all others who are your co-sufferers and comrades." (*India News*, October 20, 1956.)

GENERAL

Unity of Muslim Africa

MR. THOMAS HODGKIN in the *Manchester Guardian* (November 28 and 29, 1956) contrasted the traditional ties of Muslim Africa with its new vitality. He compared it with Western Christendom in its appeal to the intelligentsia. The sense of unity was sustained by education and trade of which the first was the more potent with its centres at the three great universities: Qairawiyyin in Fez; Al-Zaituna in Tunis; and above all Al-Azhar in Cairo. Some of the leading figures in French West Africa, such as one of the ablest of the younger leaders of Islam on the French Soudan, Abdel-Wahhab Doukoure, have graduated from these centres where in addition to the traditional disciplines of theology, law and grammar, students read Marx and Mill and Sartre, as well as the Hadith. And, like students all over the world, they learn from one another. Little groups of Al-Azhar graduates, scattered throughout French West Africa, have helped to diffuse that blend of puritanism in religion and anti-colonialism in politics which the French call or miscall "Wahhabisme". These groups have devoted their main efforts to the reform of Islamic education, paying a great deal of attention to the teaching of Arabic and introducing modern subjects—particularly mathematics—in the numerous independent schools which they have opened. Such radical ideas have been vigorously opposed—both by traditional religious leaders, fearing the undermining of their authority, and by the French administration, suspicious of everything that smells of the Arab world.

Mr. Hodgkin mentioned the importance of "the *turuq*—these traditional religious orders, which combine loyalty to a given holy man with insistence upon a particular spiritual drill, and a kind of freemasonry in relation to the outside world."

"... In Africa south of the Sahara the *turuq* are still a force. Much the most interesting is the Tijaniyya, founded at the end of the eighteenth century by Ahmed al-Tijani, an Algerian, who made Fez the headquarters of his order—where his tomb has become a place of pilgrimage for Tijanis from all over Africa. This order has recently been expanding with particular vigour in Northern Nigeria under the leadership of Sheikh Ibrahim Nyas, who exercises his spiritual direction of the network from his home in Kaolack, 1,500 miles away in Senegal; and who is not merely pious and learned but a good politician. Tijanism in Northern Nigeria has something in common with early Methodism—with its emphasis on individual conversion; its efficient local organization; its insistence on austerity (smoking is prohibited), and honesty in business dealings, as means to ensure prosperity in this life as well as bliss in Paradise; and its opposition to the Establishment—which gives it a special appeal to the discontented and oppressed." The *haji*, the pilgrimage to Mecca to which each year 8,000–10,000 West Africans go, mostly by lorry but a few by air, also has its effect "among the younger, more receptive, pilgrims from Muslim West Africa participation in this great international event and contact with the representatives of newly liberated Muslim nations, including the Soudan, whet the appetite for liberty".

Egypt continues to play an important role in Muslim Africa. "The tide in Africa, Colonel Nasser argues, is flowing against European colonial rule; it is in Egypt's interest to move with the tide, and where possible help it to flow quicker. The techniques to implement this policy are only beginning to be worked out. Apart from the Sowt al-Arab broadcasts, the Al-Azhar graduates, new contacts with Africa nationalist leaders, the most interesting is the Islamic Congress, which has its headquarters in Cairo but which is neither a purely Egyptian nor a purely African affair. The main aim of the Congress appears to be to give a more modern institutional form to the traditional idea of Muslim brotherhood—by stimulating intellectual collaboration; providing scholarships to enable students from the more backward Muslim countries to attend universities in the more advanced (including Egypt); and establishing a chain of cultural centres throughout Muslim Africa. . . .

"By ranging Egypt squarely on the side of African Liberation Nasser has undoubtedly won a new sympathy and esteem for his nation, which matter immensely more than any long-term fears about the possible resurgence of 'Egyptian imperialism'. One sure consequence of Anglo-French aggression against Egypt will be to strengthen this sympathy, and its correlate—contempt for Western Europe.

"The renewal of Moroccan and Egyptian interest in Africa south of the Sahara has come at a time when there is already a ferment in the region. In French West Africa, particularly in Senegal, there is a growing movement for Home Rule, which is not yet separatist, but may well become so. In the French Cameroons, the National Union, led by M. Soppo Priso, is already demanding complete self-determination for the entire Cameroons. In Northern Nigeria the Opposition Party, the Northern Elements Progressive Union, is attacking the semi-autocratic power which the Amirs and their Native Authorities still enjoy under the shadow of the British Administration. In the independent Soudan the Left-wing Soudan Workers' Federation and the fundamentalist Muslim Brothers represent two potentially important forms of opposition to a conservative régime.

"The current pressure for reform breaks out in all sorts of ways: through the efforts to modernize Islamic education, and the starting of independent schools; through movements for the emancipation of women; through criticism of the *turuq* and the cult of holy men. The reforming movements in the different territories of Muslim Africa seem to develop by a kind of chain reaction: Chad is stimulated by the Soudan, just as Mauretania is stimulated from Morocco. In this unstable situation Britain and France have shown a strange determination to frustrate their own more liberal intentions and to make it inevitable that the initiative in Muslim Africa should now pass from political parties to armies of liberation."

BOOK LIST

(Recent Acquisitions in the Africa Bureau Library)

AFRIKA INSTITUUT. *The Future of Customary Law in Africa*, University Press, Leiden, Holland, 1955. The report of a learned symposium covering Belgian, British, French and Portuguese Territories and the Union of South Africa. Text in English and French: An extensive bibliography.

AKPAN, N. U. *Epitaph to Indirect Rule*. Cassell, 1956. A Nigerian Administrative Officer discusses the development of democratic legal government.

BOOK LIST—contd. :

GUNTHER, JOHN. *Inside Africa*. Hamish Hamilton, 1955. A mammoth, but accurate and enjoyable survey of Africa in the author's inimitable manner.

HODGKIN, THOMAS. *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. Frederick Muller, 1956. An important study, chiefly about West Africa but with much information about French and Belgian Territories.

JACKSON, I. C. *Advance in Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1956. A study of community development in Eastern Nigeria by a former Principal of the Awgu Trading Centre.

KYAGAMBIDWA, JOSEPH. *African Music from the Source of the Nile*. Atlantic Press, 1956. A collection of Ganda music by a Baganda musician who also contributes an introduction and detailed notes, together with a translation of the words of the songs.

PADMORE, GEORGE. *Pan-Africanism or Communism*. Dobson, 1956. A detailed account of the history of Nationalism in Africa

described by an active participant who has quarrelled with Communism.

SAMPSON, ANTHONY. *Drum: Adventure into the New Africa*. Collins, 1956. A vivid story, by its first white editor, of how the African magazine *Drum* learned to cater for sophisticated, urban African readers.

TAYLOR, DON. *The Rhodesian*. Museum Press, 1955. The life of Sir Roy Welensky, now Prime Minister of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, written by a journalist who is a personal friend.

TINGSTEN, HERBERT. *The Problem of South Africa*. Gollancz, 1954. Sweden's leading newspaper editor analyses the position in the Union with fierce and fair lucidity.

WELTARCHIV, HAMBURG. *Laenderlexikon: Parts 12 and 13*. 1957. A political, social and economic encyclopaedia, containing brief but up-to-date information about many African territories. Illustrated: text in German.

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Very Rev. John Baillie, an Hon. President of the Africa Bureau, became a Companion of Honour on January 1, 1957.

The Rev. Michael Scott, Director of the Africa Bureau, gave a press conference before leaving for the United Nations on December 4. He said that the problem of South-West Africa had been discussed at the U.N. for ten years, and there were those who saw in the recurrence of this item on the Agenda evidence of the U.N.'s impotence. But the fact that the U.N. had not given way on this question was evidence of South Africa's impotence to persuade the world that her obligations to these African people were not a sacred trust of civilization and no concern of the U.N. The question of South-West Africa might still become a test case for the U.N.

Representing the Herero, Berg Damara and Nama peoples, Mr. Scott gave evidence before the Trusteeship Committee on December 10, and subsequently circulated to members of the Committee a memorandum on seeking the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice on the South-West Africa question.

The Africa Bureau has been in touch with the Bishop of Johannesburg regarding the Treason Trials Defence Fund in South Africa, and on December 17 issued a press statement outlining the purpose of the fund, which was distributed to the press and Africa Councils in this country, and to some organizations in the U.S.A.

The Africa Bureau has been asked to inform people in this country about the implications of the Bill shortly coming before the South African Parliament which will empower the Government to introduce *apartheid* into the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand. Discussions have been held with a representative of the National Union of South African Students, and a memorandum, prepared by the Students' Representative Councils of Cape Town

and Witwatersrand, has been circulated to Africa Councils and to universities in Britain.

The Bureau staff have had discussions with Members of Parliament on outstanding questions relating to East and Central Africa.

Fr. Trevor Huddleston, C.R., addressed mass meetings in Llanelli and Birmingham during December. Speakers have been provided for meetings in Bath, Bristol and London; and the Rev. Michael Scott is due to speak in Oxford on February 18 and 20 at meetings arranged by JACARI (Joint Action Committee Against Racial Intolerance) and the University Liberal Society respectively.

The Africa Bureau was represented at a meeting arranged by the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government to launch its Africa section. This section is designed to help West Africans become better acquainted with the theory and practice of parliamentary government.

Miss Harriet Cohen is giving a pianoforte recital on behalf of the Africa Bureau in the hall of the Institute of Education, London University, on March 4, 1957. As previously announced Miss Cohen is also giving recitals at the Guildhall, Cambridge, on January 27, and the Town Hall, Oxford, at 8 p.m. on February 21. The addresses of anyone who would like to receive details of the London and Oxford recitals would be welcomed.

The most recent pamphlet to be published by the Africa Bureau, "Political Change in African Society", by Tshekedi Khama, will be on sale shortly, and will be sent to pamphlet subscribers with the April issue of the *AFRICA DIGEST*. A number of factual background papers on various African territories are in preparation.

The Secretary, Miss Mary Benson, will be away from the Africa Bureau for the next two or three months for health reasons.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

